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## A STUDY OF

## SOME INDO-ARYAN WORDS FOR SOCIAL GROUPS IN

## THE EARLY TEXTS.

by

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Hir. Gr. S.: Hiranyakesin Gṛhya Sūtra  
Hir. Śra. S.: Hiranyakesin Śrauta Sūtra  
HOS: Harvard Oriental Series  
JACS: Journal of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore  
JASS: Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal  
JBRAS: Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society  
JRAS: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

<u>A Br.:</u>	<u>Aitareya Brāhmaṇa</u>
<u>Ait. Ār:</u>	<u>Aitareya Āraṇyaka</u>
<u>Āp. Dh S:</u>	<u>Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra</u>
<u>Āp. Gr. S:</u>	<u>Āpastamba Grhya Sūtra</u>
<u>Āp. Śr. S:</u>	<u>Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra</u>
<u>Ās. Gr. S:</u>	<u>Āsvalāyana Grhya Sūtra</u>
<u>Ās. Sr. S:</u>	<u>Āsvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra</u>
<u>AV. (Pai):</u>	<u>Atharva veda (Paippalāda)</u>
<u>AV. (Śau):</u>	<u>Atharva veda (Śaunaka)</u>
<u>Bau Dh. S:</u>	<u>Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra</u>
<u>Bau Gr. S:</u>	<u>Baudhāyana Grhya Sūtra</u>
<u>Bau Śr. S:</u>	<u>Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra</u>
<u>Br. Up.:</u>	<u>Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad</u>
<u>Ch. Up.:</u>	<u>Chāndogya Upaniṣad</u>
<u>EVR:</u>	<u>Etudes sur le Vocabulaire du Rgveda</u>
<u>Gaut. Dh S:</u>	<u>Gautama Dharma Sūtra</u>
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<u>Hir. Śr. S:</u>	<u>Hiranyakeśin Śrauta Sūtra</u>
<u>HOS:</u>	<u>Harvard Oriental Series</u>
<u>JAOS:</u>	<u>Journal of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore</u>
<u>JASB:</u>	<u>Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal</u>
<u>JBBRAS:</u>	<u>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</u>
<u>JRAS:</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</u>

<u>J Br.:</u>	<u>Jaiminīya Brāhmana</u>
<u>JUp Br.:</u>	<u>Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmana</u>
<u>Kap.S:</u>	<u>Kapisthaka Kātha Samhitā</u>
<u>Kāt Sr S:</u>	<u>Kāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra</u>
<u>Kaus Br.:</u>	<u>Kausītakī Brāhmana</u>
<u>KS:</u>	<u>Kāthaka Samhitā</u>
<u>Lāt Śr S:</u>	<u>Lātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra</u>
<u>MS:</u>	<u>Maitraiyānī Samhitā</u>
<u>Pār Gr S.:</u>	<u>Pāraskara Grhya Sūtra</u>
<u>PV Br.:</u>	<u>Pāncavimsa Brāhmana</u>
<u>RV.:</u>	<u>Rgveda</u>
<u>SBE:</u>	<u>Sacred Books of the East. (Oxford.)</u>
<u>Ś Br.:</u>	<u>Śatapatha Brāhmana</u>
<u>SHR:</u>	<u>Selections from the Hymns of the Rgveda</u>
<u>SHRV:</u>	<u>Soma Hymns of the Rgveda</u>
<u>SW:</u>	<u>Sanskrit Wörterbuch (Roth and Böhtlingk)</u>
<u>Tai Ār:</u>	<u>Taittirīya Āraṇyaka</u>
<u>Tai Br:</u>	<u>Taittirīya Brāhmana</u>
<u>TS:</u>	<u>Taittirīya Samhitā</u>
<u>Vā. Dh S:</u>	<u>Vāsistha Dharma Sūtra</u>
<u>VS (Mā):</u>	<u>Vājasaneyā Samhitā (Mādhyandhina)</u>
<u>VS (Kā):</u>	<u>Vājasaneyā Samhitā (Kāṇva)</u>
<u>WRV:</u>	<u>Wörterbuch zum Rgveda</u>
<u>YV:</u>	<u>Yajurveda</u>
<u>ZDMG:</u>	<u>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</u>
<u>ZII:</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Indologische und Iranische</u>

(BB. = Bhatta Bhāskara ; Mah. = Mahidhara ; U = Uvata ; VM = Vāṇikata Mādhyandhina ;  
Bl = Bloomfield ; G = Griffith ; W = Whitney)

the line of descent being known. I. INTRODUCTION The descent group is

## A. Exposition of the title

### (i) The groupings in Society:

Men as social beings collect themselves together in "Societies." Those related by marriage even. Usually the term "clan" is used. They are attracted to one another not only by sexual or parental instincts, but also by the urge of keeping themselves together with some other individuals of their kind. As a matter of fact, the causes for attraction for social aggregation are many. They may be some inner drive to form a bond with one another, or they may be some external needs, religious, political, economic or any other kind which actuate them to form the association, or they may be simply accidental external causes. For various causes of attraction various kinds of social groups are formed by men.

The primary social group formed by men in the Society is on the generic basis and that is a "family." A family is "elementary" or "nuclear" when it comprises the parents and their children only, it is "expanded" or "extended" when other members of the household are included. R. LINTON<sup>1</sup> gives the names "the family of orientation"

into which a person is born or adopted and "the family of procreation"

(ii) Indo-Aryan words for Social groups:

where he or she becomes a parent. A complex framework of relation-

ships is created by the "interlocking" of these families, which includes blood-relationships and marital relationships. "Kinship"

is the general social term for these biological ties viz. consangu-

uinal and affinal. A man or a woman is born or adopted not only

in the family but also in a wider "kingroup." Sometimes the relation-

ship is recognised in a society with reference to a common descent,

<sup>1</sup> Chamber's Encyclopaedia, London (1959) 'Social Life in Animals, 653 ff.



the line of descent being known as "lineage." The descent group is narrower in sense than the "Kingroup" as it is generally unilineal, being reckoned only through one parent while the Kingroup embraces also the relations through the other parent, the collaterals and those related by marriage even. Usually the term "clan" is used for the descent group and is generally recognised as a collection of families, generally having a common ancestor (and mostly subject to one chieftain.) The term "race" and "tribe" are also used in the sense of a collection of families but there are some different elements of characterisation which distinguish one from the other.

Other than Kingroups are social groups on the local basis such as "nationality" which, however, is again marked off by common language, culture, etc. then social groups like "sect" or "party" which is a union on the basis of religious or other views, and so on.

In addition to these kinds there are sections of the community according to status, such as "classes", "orders" or "ranks" in the society, which are based generally on the importance of occupation, wealth, education etc.

(ii) Indo-Aryan words for Social groups:

A few words from the early texts in Indo-Aryan language which have some meanings of "social groups" as exemplified above, form the materials of the present study. They are (1) Kula, (2) gana, (3) gotra, (4) grāma, (5) jana and (6) vis. Another word (7) vidatha has been studied in detail and added as an Appendix.

The criteria of the choice of these words are:

- (a) They essentially denote the social groups. The political group-words /....

group-words, like ratnin, amātya, saciva etc., or the military group-words, like senā, sardha, etc., or the economic group-words like Sreni etc. have not been studied. It has been shown in the study that gana was neither a political group-word,<sup>1</sup> nor a military group-word,<sup>2</sup> as some scholars opine.

(b) They have the traces of the meaning of "social groups" in the earliest text. Thus vamsa which is in the Vedic Samhitas in the sense of "rafters" or "beams" (in the house), although has the sense of "genealogy" in the later texts, or jāti which in the Vedic texts denotes "birth" but in the later uses has developed a social group-significance like "family", "caste" etc., has not been taken into the present study.

(c) They have some notable changes of meanings in different stages. Thus varṇa which has all along more or less the same significance (although its significance as "a class of men" in the early stage with ārya and dāsa was gradually replaced by the so called "caste" of the Brāhmaṇa-s, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśya-s and Śūdra-s) is excluded from our study.

(d) The last and the most important criterion is the presence of controversies among scholars regarding the semantic nature of the terms, at least in their early occurrences.

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<sup>1</sup> "... the Vedic gana was primarily a tribal republic" - SHARMA, (APIIAI., 90).

<sup>2</sup> "In one passage of the Rigveda, the troops of the Maruts are referred to by three different terms - Sardha, vrāta, and gana" - 'Vedic Index' (ii, 341). But that the Maruts formed the military "troops" is not sufficiently warranted.



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In 'Vedic Index' (i, 171) Kula meaning "family" is distinguished from gotra and comparison of it with grha, grāma, jana, vis is pointed out. Then, according to ZIMMER (AL, 159, 160) grāmawas a "clan" standing midway between a "family" and a "tribe" (vis.) According to 'Vedic Index', again, grāma was "an aggregate of several families, not necessarily forming a clan, but only part of a clan (vis)" (i, 245). HOPKINS (in 'Religions of India', 27) suggests that the word for "tribe" is not vis but jana, which is also mentioned as grāma (but this is disputed in 'Vedic Index', i, 269.) It has been held in 'Vedic Index' (i. 270) however, "The elements of the people were represented by the family - either as an individual family inhabiting one home (Kula) and consisting often, no doubt, of a joint family of brothers, or as a patriarchal family of sons who still lived with their father - and by the clan the later Gotra, which included all those who claimed a common ancestor," then, again, "The real elements in the state are Gotra and the Jana, .... It may be that Vis sometimes represents in the older texts what later was known as the Gotra." (i, 271)

Not only controversies among scholars, but even contradictory statements are sometimes noticed regarding the actual meaning of some of these terms, as in 'Vedic Index' (i, 245) grāma is regarded as "an aggregate of several families" forming "part of a clan (vis)", but in i, 269, it is said "But the subdivision of the Vis into several Grāmas is very doubtful", and in i, 270 "It is therefore impossible to state in what exact relation the Grāma in Vedic times stood to the Vis or to the family /...

family (Kula or Gotra)."

Thus the importance of the study of the words Kula, gotrā, grāma, jana and vis is quite evident. Gana as a social group like gotra, as mentioned as the Kevalaganas of the Bhrgus and Angirases in the Sūtras, referred to by BROUGH ('The early history of the Gotras' JRAS, 1946, 32-45) also deserves a careful study to see whether any trace of the meaning of a social group like gotra can be found in the early texts.

The word vidatha, also, which has been interpreted by scholars like ROTH and LUDWIG as "assembly"<sup>1</sup> but some others interpreting quite differently deserves a careful scrutiny and although it is not connected with the six words mentioned above it will not be out of place to add the study of this word in the Appendix.

(iii) The study of the words:

The present study comes mainly under the linguistic domain. It is chiefly concerned with the meaning of the selected words, - their varied uses in the early texts of the Indo-Aryan language. Then examining the occurrences of the words in their different meanings in the successive texts a historical approach is made to the semantic study of these words. The meanings of a word are liable to change in course of time and a chronological confusion in the case of /...

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<sup>1</sup> JAYASWAL ('Hindu Polity', p.21) has rushed to a conclusion that it is "a folk-assembly from which sabhā samiti and senā were developed" and SHARMA (APIIAI, pp. 63-80) supports him.

<sup>1</sup> "Even in historical semantics of the traditional kind we are reviewing there is an enormous field of work if we follow a contextual and sociological technique" (FIRTH, 'The Technique of Semantics' TPS, 1934, p.45).

of the meanings is guarded against, i.e. by marking the meanings of the words separately in the different periods, the blunder of placing the later meaning for an earlier word or earlier meaning for a later occurrence is checked. Then, attempts are made to depict the social condition however little it may reflect, because it is quite apparent that a study like this can hardly provide sufficient material for the history of the social condition of ancient India.

The actual uses of the words in the texts have been taken into account, and all of them, especially in the early stage. Conclusions are drawn on the basis of the actual findings from these uses and are never presumptive. As there is a large number of controversies regarding the meanings of the words as it has been observed, and as there is no authoritative interpretation of the early texts either by Indian or by Western scholars which could be solely depended upon, it has been primarily essential to determine from the varying interpretations of the East and the West the most correct possible meaning of the words with reference to the contexts, collocation, etc.<sup>1</sup> Had there been an authoritative lexicon with different shades of meanings of the words in different contexts from different texts of successive periods, the study would be easier and wider.

<sup>1</sup> "But even though it is certain that our version of the Atharvaveda - (iv) The early texts:

The early texts comprise the Vedic literature beginning with the Rgveda, and ending with the earlier Upaniṣads and the earlier Kalpasūtras/...

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<sup>1</sup> "Even in historical semantics of the traditional kind we are reviewing there is an enormous field of work if we follow a contextual and sociological technique" (FIRTH, The Technique of Semantics" TPS, 1934, p. 45.

4

Kalpasūtras. Regarding the chronology, the "received theories" have been accepted. The sequence of the texts, in general, is RV. - (SV) - YV. - AV. - Brāhmaṇa - Āraṇyaka - Upaniṣad - Sūtras, but it is never real that one is finished before the other has started. For example, some portions of the AV. may be as early as the early portion of the RV.<sup>1</sup> and the First and Tenth Mandala of the RV. are definitely not earlier than the AV. But for the present semantic study of words, it is only sufficient if the "received" sequence of the texts is just followed. The Khila Sūktas as the Supplementary R̥gvedic hymns, according to KEITH "are somewhat later in date than the R̥gveda Samhitā." (JRAS, (1907) pp. 224-9). According to KEITH (MBIV, cl xv. ff) the chronological order is RV. - SV. - TS (mantras) - VS. - AV. and the Brāhmaṇa portion of TS. is later than Ait. Br. but "parallel probably with the Maitr and the Kāth (with the Kap) and perhaps also with the Pāncavimsa," but it is earlier than the Śatapatha or Jaiminiya or the Kausītakī." Among the Upaniṣads - Aitareya, Kausītakī, Taittirīya, Brhadāraṇyaka, Chāndogya are the earlier ones,<sup>2</sup> which mark the end of the Vedic period roughly dating about 500 B.C. Among the Kalpasūtras, the Āśvalāyana, the Lāṭyāyana, the Bandhāyana, the Mānava, the Gautama, and the Gobhila, - Śrauta, Gr̥hya and Dharma Sūtras, form the earliest. The /...

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<sup>1</sup> "But even though it is certain that our version of the Atharvaveda - Samhitā is later than that of the R̥gveda - Samhitā, yet it by no means follows from this that the hymns themselves are later than the R̥gveda hymns. It only follows that the latest hymns of the Atharvaveda are later than the latest hymn of the R̥gveda" WINTERNITZ (HIL p. 127)

<sup>2</sup> VIŚVABANDHU - Vedic Concordance (Upaniṣads)- Introduction



The Sūtras of the next Stratum are the Śāṅkhāyana, the Bhāradvāja, the Āpastamba, the Kātyāyana, the Pāraskara and the Kathaka.<sup>1</sup>

Of the early texts, the Sāmaveda which comprises mostly the RV. verses except 75 out of 1810, has not been separately consulted, as these 75 verses omitted provide very little additional material for our findings.

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<sup>1</sup> RAMGOPAL, 'India of Vedic Kalpasūtras' (pp. 84-90) (His examination of the various theories on the dates of the Sūtras is exhaustive and his chronology is quite acceptable. These are not the

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#### B. Object of the Study

The ultimate object of the present study is to establish a useful process for the study of historical semantics.<sup>1</sup> The immediate object is to get a better knowledge of the semantic nature of the words as thoroughly as possible, by the exhaustive study of each occurrence of the words in the texts in chronological order. A further object of the present study is to hint at the social condition of the early days from the semantic history of the words, as much as possible, as there are many limitations which are admitted.

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<sup>1</sup> At the end of the chapter on 'Semantics: vocabulary in motion' in "The Gift of Tongues" London (1943), SCHLAUCH observes "No part of language study, indeed offers better occasion for scientific collaboration than the investigation of meanings against a social background."

The application (vinivṛta) of the hymn to the ritual practices is an important subject to mention. They were mostly Karmasādhana (belonging /... (contd. on next page)

### C. Previous Works

There are many important works of eminent scholars regarding the general histories of Indian Civilisation where the significance of the words in question have been touched upon, while narrating the history of the social condition of the people speaking Indo-Aryan language from the earliest period onwards. Some of these scholars have depended on the word studies made by other scholars<sup>1</sup> and sometimes stray examples of the words have been taken by them to establish certain social and political theories. These are not the type of works which can be referred to as the precursor of the present study. Only 'Vedic Index' can be called near to the type of it. But even in this work, not all the occurrences of the words have been dealt with. Here the views and studies of different scholars with respect to certain words or subjects are often compiled along with the reference to a great many instances from the texts. But the views and explanations of the Indian commentators which are sometimes found to be more plausible than those of the Western scholars are mostly disregarded. The reason lies in the so-called defects of the Indian scholars who are found in general to have the tradition of explaining almost everything in terms of sacrifice and religious practices<sup>2</sup> and of mostly falling upon fanciful /...

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<sup>1</sup> For example, GHOSHAL depended mostly on ZIMMER, MAJUMDAR mostly on 'Vedic Index', SHARMA mostly on the translations of the R̥gveda and other works by GRIFFITH, etc. etc.

<sup>2</sup> SĀYANA in the introduction to his commentary on RV. describes how he wants to take the help of the six Vedāṅgas, viz. Śikṣā, Kalpa, Vyākaraṇa, Nirukta, Chandas and Jyotiṣ for the interpretation of RV. The application (vinīyoga) of the hymn to the ritual practices is an important subject to mention. They were mostly Karmakāṇḍins (belonging /... (contd. on next page)



fanciful derivations, which on the principles of Comparative Philology are found to be historically unwarranted. But the etymology based on Comparative Philology also cannot be regarded as very useful for the determination of meaning, as the meanings of the cognates may diverge to any direction (e.g. dasyu in Indo-Aryan language refers to the people, while dahyu in Iranian denotes "the province") The European scholars are also tempted to establish connection of early Indian society with the social systems of the other nations like the Ancient Greeks, Romans and Teutons on the a priori assumption of a primitive society in Vedic India, but their findings are often proved baffling. The attitude of the European scholars is materialistic and they often ignore the symbolical or figurative meaning of the words (e.g. the word gotra is never explained as a "cloud" by the European scholars) and sometimes the subtle poetic touch that abounds in the early Indian texts especially in the Rgveda. Sometimes the European scholars appear to be on the right line when they interpret the social aspect as featuring in the religious concept, the making of myths etc., the hero-worship as /...

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2 (contd. from previous page) (belonging to the school of ritual interpretations.) It has been discovered now that between YASKA the earliest interpreter of RV. and SĀYANA, there is a chain of scholiasts viz. UDGĪTHA, SKANDASVĀMIN, VENKATA MĀDHAVA and MĀDHAVA BHATTĀ, compiler of 'Anukramanī' referred to by SĀYANA in the commentary on RV. X, 86 (SARUP thinks the two MĀDHAVA's are the same) (JOSHI, S.J. - The problem of MĀDHAVA in RV. comms. PAIOC (12th), 1946, SARUP, L. - "MĀDHAVA, son of Srī Venkatārya and Sāyanācārya" - BE Law Vol. Pt. II, BORI, Poona 1946, KĀSHIKAR, C. G. - 'A Comparative Study of Udgītha's Bhāṣya on RV.' Siddheswar Varma Comm. Vol. I, 1950.)

as leading to deification and so on.<sup>1</sup> (The Indian commentators are not /...)

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<sup>1</sup> "For the traditional method ROTH, the founder of Vedic philology, substituted the critical method of interpreting the difficult parts of the RV. from internal evidence by the minute comparison of all words parallel in form and matter, while taking into consideration Context, grammar and etymology, without ignoring either the help supplied by the historical study of the Vedic language in its connection with Sanskrit or the outside evidence derived from the Avesta and from Comparative Philology. In the application of his method ROTH attached too much weight to etymological considerations, while he undervalued the evidence of native tradition ....." - MACDONELL ('Vedic Reader pp. XXX - XXXI).

"... ROTH insisted from the beginning that ..... European scholars would succeed much better than Indian theologians, having the advantage in freedom of judgment, as well as in a larger range of view and historical faculty" - KAEGI "The Rigveda" (p. 9)

On the other hand MAX MÜLLER holds "SĀYANA in many cases teaches us how the Veda ought not to be, rather than ought to be understood" - 'SBE (XXXII)' (p. XXXIV,) It would rather be wise not to be fanatically inclined either to Indian traditional interpretation or to the European school of interpretation led by ROTH, but to judge rationally if SĀYANA's interpretation is not suitable the European scholars' views, because some of the Indian traditional explanations possess something which the European master minds cannot think of.

MAX MÜLLER in the Introduction to his edition of RV. p. 139 remarks ".... let us try to speak and think a language which expressed the bright and the divine, the brilliant and the beautiful, the straight and the right, the bull and the hero, the shepherd and the king by the same terms, and we shall see how difficult it would be to translate such terms without losing either the keynote that was still sounding, or the harmonies which were set vibrating by it in the minds of the poets and their listeners."

have the shortcomings as mentioned above. RAU's "Staat und Gesellschaft /..

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<sup>1</sup> ZIV

<sup>3</sup> ZDMG 111,

<sup>2</sup> JAOS, XIX

<sup>4</sup> ESV RV.

not furnished with the later historical and archaeological findings and explain, for instance āryāh in RV. X, 11, 4 as "abhiḡamaniyam vrajantah." Another defect in 'Vedic Index' as also in some other works of the European scholars, is the rendering of Vedic word by the post Vedic meaning, such as grāma by "village" which meaning is found in the post-Vedic age as opposed to nagara "the town", while in the Vedic stage it is opposed to aranya which is again probably not the post-vedic "forest."

After all if 'Vedic Index' would be free from the shortcomings noticed above, it could be depended upon and the present study would not be needed, which is in essence similar to it in aim and execution. Both aim at presenting some material for the social history of ancient India by means of the study of words, both have more or less the same chronological limit but while 'Vedic Index' is an extensive study of a large number of words, the present study is an intensive one of a small number of words.

Of all the previous works on the line, mention may be made of ZIMMER's 'Altindisches Leben', LUDWIG's 'Der Rig Veda' both of which attempt to give a full account of the life of Vedic age (from Rgveda to the Brāhmanas.) But these works have some shortcomings viz. they do not take into account all the instances of a word in all their meanings and sometimes have some biased interpretations disregarding completely the explanations of the Indian commentators. Besides these there are certain word-studies made by scholars like HILLEBRANDT (pañca jana)<sup>1</sup>, RENOUE (jana, etc.)<sup>3</sup>, BLOOMFIELD (vidatha)<sup>2</sup>, GELDNER (vidatha)<sup>3</sup> .... which are mainly on the line of the present study but have the shortcomings as mentioned above. RAU's "Staat und Gesellschaft /..

<sup>1</sup> ZIII their meanings when <sup>3</sup> ZDMG lli, their country."

<sup>2</sup> JAOS, XIX

<sup>4</sup> ESV RV.

:schaft in Alten Indien' is also a thorough book on the social life of India in the Brāhmaṇa period. KANE's article on Gotra<sup>5</sup> is also a commendable study but he does not go to examine critically the interpretations of the text.

These factors are respectively (1) verbal association<sup>2</sup> of co-ordination (2) of dissociation (3) of (friendly) pair (4) of contrast (5) the consideration of general meaning (which may be denotation) (6) the

D. Methodological Basis of the present study.

(i) For the determination of the meanings of words the Indian view is as old as 'Brhaddevatā' where it is said:

"arthāt prakaraṇāllīṅgād aucityād deśa-Kālataḥ /  
mantresvarthāvavodhaḥ syād itar esviti ca sthitiḥ //

'Vākyapadīya' in II, 316 also holds a similar view:

vākyāt prakaraṇād arthā daucityā deśakālataḥ /  
sabdārthāḥ pravibhajyante na rūpādeva Kevalā //

The meaning of a word is thus to be determined not by "form" alone it can be obtained from the vākya which may be "the syntactical connection in a sentence (syntagma)", prakaraṇa, the subject matter, artha, the consideration of general meaning or the purpose served by its use, aucitya<sup>1</sup>, propriety of its use according to the place or region and the time. In the former there is līṅga or "indication" which is another factor, in the latter vākya.

In Vākyapadīya II, 317 the contextual factors are further said to be:

<sup>1</sup> The deśa-aucitya and Kāla-aucitya necessarily presumes the dialectal variations of a language and the differences of languages from place to place and the change of a language through the ages although historical study of semantics as such is not found among the Indian scholars. JOHNSON in the Preface to his Dictionary, as noted by FIRTH in 'The Techniques of Semantics' TPS, 1934, p.42, says "Words change their meanings when they change their country."



Samyogo viprayogasca sāhacaryam virodhitā

arthah<sup>1</sup> prakaranam līgam śabdasyānyasya sam midhih

Sāmarthyam aucitī desah Kālo vyaktih svarādayah

Śabdārthasthānavacchede viśeṣasmṛti hetavah //

These factors are respectively (1) verbal association<sup>2</sup> of co-ordination (2) of dissociation (3) of (friendly) pair (4) of contrast (5) the consideration of general meaning (which may be denotation) (6) the subject matter (7) indication (which may be connotation) (8) collocation (9) Potentiality (10) Propriety (11) Place (12) Time (13) Person (14) Accents. These are the useful help to find out the meaning of a word when it is not determined easily.

These criteria for the determination of meaning in the words of the European scholars are (1) context (verbal setting and environment also non-verbal elements of situation) (prakarana and desa-, Kāla-aucitya also vyakti) (2) denotation and connotation of the word (artha and līga, also vākya with sāmarthyā) and (3) collocation (samyoga, viprayoga, sāhacarya, virodhitā and śabdasyānyasya samnidhi)<sup>3</sup> "The context theory is perhaps the most influential single factor in the growth of twentieth century semantics." (ULIMANN - 'The Principles of Semantics' p. 65). FIRTH in TPS., 1934, 36-72 describes "Serial contextualisation of the facts, context within context."

<sup>1</sup> "arthah padam" in 'Vājasaneyī Prātisākhya' III, 2, "It is the view of the grammarians and rhetoricians that words are related permanently to their senses by means of samketa or convention ..." (ABHYANKARA - A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar (Oriental Ins. Baroda) 1961)

<sup>2</sup> P. GUIRAUD (La Sémantique) Paris, 1955 gives a long list of the types of Verbal Association according to WOODROW and LOWELL.

<sup>3</sup> This is in short described in Vākyapadīya, II, 253: "arthaprakaran-  
ābhyām vā yogācchabdāntareṇa vā"

(ii) Indian scholars have also noticed that the words are not usually monosemic:

"bahavo hi śabdā ekārthā bhavanti /  
tad yathā indrah śakraḥ puruhutaḥ purandarah /  
ekasā śabdo bahvarthah / tadyathā aksāḥ  
pādāḥ mādhavah iti" (Mahābhāṣya I, 3, 1.)

There are of course two schools of thought viz. bhedavācin and abhedavācin.

In the words of Vākyapadiya II, 252:

ekamāhuranekārtham śabdam anye parīkṣakāḥ /  
prasiddhibhedād gaunatvam māḥyatvam copavarnyate //"

Bhedavācins seems to group all polysemous words as homonymous or homophones. But the abhedavācins hold the corruption of sense of a word remaining side by side with the primary sense. Although in this conception of primary and secondary meanings a historical development of meanings is probably conceived, their treatment is always synchronic. ULIMANN notices (1) Synonymy of words i.e. one sense of several names, (2) Polysemy and Homonymy i.e. one name having several senses and sometimes (3) Simple words (one name, one sense) which are either conventional or motivated ('Words and their uses' 50 ff)

JAGADĪŚA in Śabdasaktiprakāśikā distinguishes a meaningful word into four types (five, according to some):

rūḍham ca lakṣakaṅcaiva yogarūḍhaṅca vaugikam /  
taccatur dhā, parai rūḍhayaugikam manyate'dhikam // (I, 16)

(a) Yogārtha, the etymological meaning of a word (b) rūḍhārtha, the conventional meaning (c) lakṣakārtha, the secondary which are rūḍhi lakṣanā /....



lakṣaṇā (fixed by usage) and prayojana-mūlā lakṣaṇā (occasionally and purposively conferred) and (d) yogarūdhārtha, the primary meaning specialised. There are various other views of the Mīmāṃsakas, the Naiyāyikas and the Navya Naiyāyikas. Accepting the view of the rhetoricians we can distinguish the meanings of the words understood with the help of context, etc., to be rūḍha (conventional) yaugika (derivative) and lākṣanika (transferred or figurative.) The yaugikārtha is not always the primary meaning. The ancient Indian poets who might be adept in etymology are believed to have used sometimes words in a newly formed etymological meaning. This meaning is as secondary as the transferred lākṣanika meaning. The rūdhārtha can be called safely the primary meaning which is conventionally ascribed <sup>at first</sup> to the word ~~at a certain period of time in a~~ locality.

(iii) In noting the historical development of meanings we have to notice how the conventional meaning of a word has undergone a change, excluding the derivational and the transferred meanings (the latter have often been called "Secondary meanings.") It has also been seen how one synonym has been replaced by another, how one meaning is transferred into another and so on.

## E. LIMITATIONS OF THE PRESENT STUDY.

As we have already said the study is concentrated on a few words only, and therefore it is never expected that the object of our study would be absolutely fulfilled. There are a large number of words which require such intensive study on which many statements that could be made here would depend.

The Social group-sense could not be discriminated offhand, hence all the occurrences of the respective words are studied which has been a lengthy process yielding a result smaller than it could otherwise be. But although the result is quantitatively small, qualitatively it is significant.

The German, French and Sanskrit quotations unless there is a particular interpretation given by any scholar has not been <sup>translated</sup> given, as it would add a considerable length to the work. Accent marks in RV. are specially noted but in the other texts have been sometimes ignored.

Of these meanings, the sense of 'group, family, community, tribe, caste, association, etc.' is understood as indicating a 'social group', which has, in RV, are "Goschichte, Familie, Gesellschaft, Verein, Genossenschaft, etc. - stätte einer Familie. Also also used as also of a 'tribe or gang' (a pejorative semantic change) also of a 'tribe or eminent family or race' (an elevative semantic change)--- is specially to be noted if found in the early Indo-Iryan texts.

The single instance of the word kula occurs first in the 'Khila' of Rgveda in "the well-known Śrī-sūkta".<sup>1</sup> VI, however, notes :

1. "Khila II.6. is the well-known Śrī-sūkta. This hymn addressed to the Goddess Śrī is often read and recited in India from old times as is clear from a large number of MSS, of the same found in all parts of India, and a number of books commentaries written on it. It is also quoted in later Vedic literature as well as in a number of books dealing with religious rites."--- O.G.Kashikar (Preface to Khila II.6.)

## II. STUDY OF THE WORDS.

### 1. KULA :

M. WILLIAMS (SED) gives the meaning of kula thus :

"Kula, am, n. (fr. root kul ?), a herd, a troop, a flock, an assembly, a multitude, a number etc. (of quadrupeds, birds, insects etc. or of inanimate objects ...); a race, family, community, tribe, caste, association, set, company (e.g. brāhmaṇa-kula, the caste of the Brahmins); the residence of a family, seat of a community; (in a contemptuous sense) a lot, a gang (forming a compound with a preceding gen. sing. e.g. caurasya-kula, a gang of thieves; an inhabited country; a house, an abode; a noble or eminent family or race; high station (often at the beginning of a compound = chief, principal;....); the body; the front, forepart; a blue stone; (as), m. the chief of a corporation or guild;...."(s.v.)

Of these meanings, the sense of a "race, family, community, tribe, caste, association, set, company" as indicating a "social group", which acc. SW, are "Geschlechte, Familie, Gemeinde, Innung, Genossenschaft, Wohnstätte einer Familie, Sitz einer Gemeinde" as also of a "lot or gang" (a pejorative semantic change) also of a "noble or eminent family or race" (an elevative semantic change)--- is specially to be noted if found in the early Indo-Aryan texts.

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"As an uncompound word, kula does not occur before the period of the Brahmanas." (s.v.)

which can not be accepted unless this 'Khila sūkta' is considered later than the 'Brāhmanas.' But there is no evidence to support this chronology. Besides, kula singly occurs in the Paipp. AV. in two instances; it is, however, found to be a homonym of the word kula to be studied. In RV. Bk. I, occurs only mahākula, and in RV. Bk. X, kulapāh (Nom. sg. pl.), which also occurs in the RV. verse repeated in AV. (ŚAU), where also occurs kulapā (Fem. Nom. sg.). A derivative word kulīnā and a compounded word kulajanīh occur in the AV. (PAIPP).

A. Kula in RV. :

Mahā-kula occurs in RV. I, 161, 1 ---

kīmu śrāeṣṭhaḥ kīm yāviṣṭho na ājagan kīm ūjate dūtyam kād yād ūcimā/  
nā nindima camasam yō mahākulo 'gne bhrātar drūna id bhūtīm ūdima //

GRIFFITH : "Why hath the Best, why hath the Youngest come to us ? Upon what embassy comes he ? What have we said? We have not blamed the chalice of illustrious birth. We, Brother Agni, praised the goodness of the Wood."

The second line of the verse is translated by Geldner thus :

"Wir haben den Becher nicht getadelt der von guter Herkunft ist. Nur von der Entstehung des Holzes haben wir gesprochen, Bruder Agni."

and by Hillebrandt thus :

"Den Becher haben wir nicht getadelt, der von edler Art ist; von der Güte des Holzes sprachen wir."

SĀYANA discusses the situation in which the verse occurs. The deity of

this hymn is the Rbhus. According to him, the Rbhus who were human beings, by dint of their virtuous deeds, attained divinity and were



taking Soma, when Agni, sent by the gods, took their form and was ~~going~~ going to take Soma along ~~wt~~ with them. The Rbhus were bewildered and spoke to themselves in confusion in the first line and spoke out to Agni in the second line: We shall not speak ill of the ladle which is mahākula, O brother, Agni, but shall rather speak 'goodness' of the wooden one (= bhūti, acc. GRIFFITH, which is better than SĀYANA's meaning prāpti)<sup>1</sup>. SĀYANA explains mahākula referring to the camasa as mahākulotpannah tvastrā nirmitatvāt, referring to the later mention in the 4th verse of the hymn, of "tvaṣṭāgnāsvantārnyānaje".

GRASSMANN gives the meaning of the word mahākula "aus grossem, edlen Geschlecht(ē kula) stammend" and ROTH also suggests the same meaning following SĀYANA. Only MAYRHOFER suggests a new meaning of the word mahākula, "eine grosse Höhlung habend" (vom Becher gesagt)"<sup>2</sup>, although kula, according to him, is "Geschlecht, Sippe, Menge, Herde,".

<sup>1</sup> Bhūti occurs also in RV. VIII, 59, 7 (Vāla. 11, 7)c:

<(he) īndrāvaruṇā>..... (acc. comm.)

(yuvām) prajāṃ puṣṭim bhūtim asmāsu dhattam

which has been annotated : asmāsu stotrṣu putra-pautrādi-rūpam ...

dhanādeḥ samrddhim bhūtim gavāśvādigaajānta-sampadam ca ... dhārayatam

dhārayatam. GRASSMANN gives the meaning : Tüchtigkeit, guter Zustand,

Wohlsein. It seems to denote : "give us progeny, wealth & welfare."

<sup>2</sup> MAYRHOFER refers to BURROW, BSOAS, 11, p. 139 & TPS (1946) p. 23, where he suggests "Skt. kula, herd, troop, flock, tribe, race etc.... is derived from Dravidian : Ta. kulu, assembly, flock, herd, swarm, shoal, kulumpu id. kulumu, to collect, assemble, gather together, kuluvu id. kuluu, assembly, crowd, kulām, herd, flock, crowd, shoal." BURROW also refers to "Dr. root kul 'hollow, a hollow, to be hollow, to hollow out'" from which he shows a large number of words in Tamil, Malayalam etc. ~~is~~ derived in the sense of a hole, pit, tube etc. etc. From this latter, MAYRHOFER possibly derives the meaning of mahākula. He also refers to a Gothic cognate us-hōlen, 'aus höhlen'; but against this can be presented M. WILLIAM's suggestion of comparing with Irish gaol which denotes 'relationship, kindred, family' (P. S. DINEEN, IED).

Thus mahākula as an adjective of camasa signifies "having a big hollow". This meaning is not quite improbable with reference to the context. The three Rbhus told Agni, the fourth Rbhu that they would not speak ill of the camasa which was mahākula, that is to say, they would not be angry because there was only one camasa for four persons to drink Soma there-with, because it had a big hollow, and it is found in the next verse Agni asked them to make that one camasa four, for the four of them -- (ēkaṃ camasāṃ catūrah kṛnotana ....). V.MĀDHAVA renders mahākulam as mahātataṃ, which is not very convincing and it seems to be not signifying MAYRHOFER's suggested meaning. MAYRHOFER's meaning also finds support from the presence of words like kulyā (in RV.III,45,3 <d> : prā.....yathā hradām kulyā ivāsata ; in RV.X,43,7 <b> : samāksarant .... sōmāsa indram kulyā iva hradām ; in RV.V,83,8 <b> : syādatām kulyā vīsitāḥ purastāt; and also in AV, YV. etc. SĀYANA explains them as kr̥trima-saritaḥ, nadyah, alpasaritaḥ etc. GRASSMANN, as 'Bach, Fluss, Strom' GRIFFITH as 'water brooks, rivulets, stream etc.) On the other hand, there is the word kulmi in YV.(TS.II,4,5,2) although a hapax legomenon, in the sense of a 'herd'<sup>1</sup>. Hence, though MAYRHOFER's meaning is satisfactory, it can be laid aside, as the possibility of the sense of mahākula to be 'one sprung from a high line of descent'— a meaning of a social group— cannot be ignored.

1 ...yena devā amṛtam

dīrgham śravo divyairayanta / rāyaspoṣa tvam asmabhyam gavām kulmim jīvasa ayuvasva/ KEITH : Thou whereby the gods moved immortality

Enduring fame in the sky

O increase of wealth vouchsafe us

A herd of kine for life.

SĀYANA explains gavām kulmim saṅgham ...jīvanārtham ...ānīya mīrāya.

GRASSMANN(WRV) gives the meaning of kulmā : "Beschützer (von gā) der Gemeinde, Gemeindehaupt, Familienhaupt", and KEITH also gives the meaning



(ii) kulapā in RV. X,179,2 :

śrātām haviró svindra prá yāhi jagāma sūro ádhvano vímadhyam /  
pári tvāstate nidhibhih sakhāyah kulapā ná vrājapatim carantam //

GRIFFITH : "Oblation is prepared : come to us Indra; the sun hath travell-  
 -ed over half the journey. Friends with their stores are sitting  
 round thee, waiting like lords of clans for the tribe's wandering  
 chieftain."

The second line is thus translated by GELDNER :

"Auf dich worten die Genossen mit ihren Aufschüngen wie eine  
 Haushüterin auf den ausziehenden Wanderhaufdling ?

SĀYANA explains kulapā na as kulasya vamsasya raksakāh putrā yathā and  
vrājapatim carantam (pari āsate) as gantavyānām grhānām patim gacchantam  
upāsate. ~~For~~ The Rtvij-s (sakhāyah) with nidhi-s wait for Indra's coming  
 and as a dr̥stānta (a similar instance) of this situation, it is said :  
 (pari āsate) kulapā na vrājapatim carantam. SĀYANA may mean to say that  
 the sons would wait on the Vrājapati - the lord of the houses. But it is  
 not very convincing as to why the sons would wait upon the lord of the  
 houses and how the situation could be similar to the waiting of the  
 Rtvij-s upon Indra. Hence the interpretation of SĀYANA is weaker than  
 that of the European scholars.

B. Kula in AV.(ŚAU) :

The verse of the RV, above (X,179,2) is exactly the same as AV.(ŚAU)VII,  
 75(72),2, which is translated by WHITNEY into :

"The oblation is cooked; hither O Indra please come forward; the sun  
 hath gone to the mid point of his way; thy companions wait upon  
 (pari-ās) thee with treasures (nidhi) as heads of families on a  
 chieftain (vrājapati) as he goes about".

GRASSMANN(WRV) gives the meaning of kulapā : "Beschützer (von pā) der  
 Gemeinde, Gemeindehaupt, Familienhaupt", and ROTH also gives the meaning

"Geschlecht-, Gemeindehaupt" and MAYRHOFER (KWA) does not differ from their meanings, as he suggests "Haushüter, Gemeindebeschützer".

ZIMMER (AL)<sup>1</sup> translates the second line of the verse thus :

"Dich Indra umsitzen mit Darbringungen die Freunde wie Familien-  
-oberhäupter (kulapā) den thätigen Führer der Dorfschaar (vrājapati)"

Regarding the word kulapā, KEITH & MACDONELL (VI) observes :

"The kulapā (lit. 'house protector') or chief of the family, is mentioned in the RV.(X,179,2) as inferior to and attendant on the vrājapati in war , the latter being perhaps the leader of the village contingent of the clan. "(s.v.)

Vrājapati in WRV (s.v) is rendered "Herr der Heerscharen", in SW, "Anführer des oder der Haufen, etwa Herzog". ZIMMER (AL,p.171) makes vrājapati identical with grāmanī, and WHITNEY (AV.p.436) translates the word by "chieftain". Besides vrājapati occurring in this verse only, vrāja<sup>2</sup> occurs only once in AV.(ŚAU) I,16,1 used adverbially :  
yé 'māvāsyām rātrim udāsthur vrājam attrīṇaḥ ("What devourers on the

<sup>1</sup> ZIMMER(p.161) quoting ~~RV~~ this verse with regard to kulapā and vrāja-pati after discussing gavyan grāma (RV.III,33,11), bhārata jana (RV. III,53,12), vrājana (RV.VII,32,27 & RV.X,42,10) and visyā iva vrāḥ... (RV.I,126,5) arranges in an order vis, vrāja(vrā) and kula as the sizes of troops from bigger to smaller. He further notices the three divisions of troops in gana, vrāta and sardha (RV.V,53,11 & III, 26,6) as "Rotten", "Haufen", "Scharen". It has, however, been criticised in VI(p.269, vol.i).

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of vrāja in RV.& AV. has to be determined from these two occurrences. It no doubt denotes a 'group of people' but its size and function can not be said definitely, and it is not necessarily military. Vrājapati appears to be the supervising chief over the kulapās, the chiefs of the kulas. His position as superior to that of the kulapās is evident, as Indra and the priests are respectively compared to vrājapati and kulapās.

of new moon have arisen troopwise (?).....! WHITNEY.

LANMAN makes a note under the translation of WHITNEY :

"Vrājam in b is obscure; 'troopwise' is the conjecture of BR.

(i.e. SW); the comm. reads instead bhrājam and absurdly explains it as bhrājamānām or ~~am~~ -nam 'shining' and qualifying either the night or the "hearty" man whom the demons have ~~x~~ risen to injure ! "

Now, if there is uncertainty about this vrājam, from a comparison with vrājapati alone occurring in RV,X,179,2 & AV.VII,12,2, an idea of kulapā can be made viz. that he was a head of a small social unit like a 'family', either 'nuclear' or 'extended'.

(ii) kulapā in AV,I,14,3 :

esā te kulapā rājan tām te pari dadmasi /

iyok pitṛsvāsātā ā śīrṣṇāḥ samōpyāt //

GRIFFITH : Queen of thy race is she, O King; thee do we deliver her

Long with her kinsfolk may she sit until her hair be white with age.

WHITNEY : She is thy housekeeper, O king; we commit her to thee, she

shall sit long with the Fathers until the covering in of her head.

BLOOMFIELD : This woman shall be the keeper of thy house, O king

(Yama) and her do we make over to thee. May she long sit with

her relatives until (her hair) drops from her head.

Kulapā here is the feminine. In the Padapāṭha it is rendered kulapāḥ but SĀYANA explains it as kulapā.

While WHITNEY and BLOOMFIELD consider kula here as "the house"

GRIFFITH suggests it to be "the race" (kulapā even then should not be

rendered as "queen"). LUDWIG also translates kulapā by "the guardian of

the house" (schützerin deines hauses ist diese, o könig, diese wir

übergeben dir, / lang verweile sie bei den ältern, schüttele segnen von

ihrer haupten //). ZIMMER TRANSLATES

ZIMMER translates the verse thus (AL,p.314)

"Sie sei bei dir familienhaupt, sie übergeben wir dir jetzt; lange wohne sie bei (deinen) Eltern bis zum grauwerden (?)des Hauptes."

He remarks before translating the hymn :

"Dass die junge Frau bei ihrer Verheirathung eine Aussteuer mit erhielt wird nirgends direct angegeben, lässt sich aber aus AV.I,14 schliessen."

Like ZIMMER, LUDWIG and WEBER (Ind. Stud. IV.408) also connected pitr̥su with tava, understood. While there is difference of opinion among scholars as to the exact meaning of kula, there ~~also~~ is also difference of views as to who the rājan addressed here was and what the occasion of the utterance of the verse was.

SĀYANA thinks that Soma was addressed here as rājan and the woman was called 'his' kulapā, i.e. pātivratyena kulasya pālayitrī yā, she being accepted at first as Soma's wife at the time of marriage. Thus he explains kula as the (chaste) line of descent and on the whole kulapā is "the wife" which can be accepted even if his derivational meaning is not taken in-to consideration. A better meaning, however, is obtained if we interpret this rājan as addressed to ~~the~~ Yama.

According to GRIFFITH and BLOOMFIELD this hymn ~~is~~ is not a marriage song as considered by WEBER, LUDWIG, and ZIMMER. But GRIFFITH opines,

"The third stanza (i.e. the verse cited) of the hymn considered independently would be easily explained as one uttered at the funeral of a maiden and it seems possible that the entire hymn represents similar material somewhat worked over for the occasion."

BLOOMFIELD also holds the same opinion (SBE XLII,p.254) but he considers this hymn as a charm of a woman against a rival in consideration of the practices connected with the hymn in the Kauś.S.36,15-17.



SĀYANA also states that this hymn is to be applied for doing misfortune of a woman or a man, quoting Kauś.S.36,15.

In the light of these views of BLOOMFIELD and SĀYANA, it is an incantation of a woman against her co-wife that the latter may be the 'wife' or 'housewife' (kulapā) of Yama, instead of remaining the kulapā of her husband. Kulapā, then, in all probability would signify 'the female head of the family(nuclear)' so far as the derivational meaning is concerned. In VI also the same meaning is maintained and the use of kulapā is considered as "ironical, because she is left without a husband in the world, and has only Yama (the god of death) for a spouse" (vol.i, p.171)

The conclusion of the VI : "The use of the term kula points clearly to a system of individual families, each no doubt consisting of several members under the headship of the father or eldest brother, whose kula the dwelling is." (loc.cit.) can, on the whole, be supported, but whether it denoted originally "the home or house of the family and by metonymy the family itself, as connected with the home" or the reverse, viz. that the "family" was the original meaning and then it was changed to "the house where the family lived together" is difficult to say.

As mahākula (RV.Bk.I) probably denoted "of a great race", "of a respectable lineage or generation" the primary sense of kula seems to be not "the house", but "the people primarily connected by birth" and kulapāh and kulapā may have the meanings "the male heads" and "the female head" respectively "of the family" rather than "of the house".

C. kula in AV. (PAIPP)

kulīnā in AV. (P) XVII, 15, 1 :

yā(h) kumārīr yāstuvīrā yuvatīr yās sadānvā(h) /

sarvā yantu kurutunī(h) kulīnā dhenus sarpatu rāyī raṣibhā hitā //

Although the hymn is difficult

Although the hymn is difficult,--sudurgamam, as remarked by the editor, kulīnā is, however, definitely the adjective of dhenuh and is apparently "of good birth or pedigree".

(ii) kula-janīh in AV.(P) :

imā(h) pascā mayūryas saptā svāsāro agruvah /  
tās te viṣām vi jahirur udakām kumbhinīr iva  
Kūpāt kulajanīr iva //

This verse agrees with RV.I,191,14 which has some variations, such as trīh saptā for the first two words and the second line ~~starts~~ terminates before kūpāt kulajanīr iva which is a new addition in AV.(P). The meaning of the verse may be : These peahens... and the seven sisters .... they have taken away or carried away thy venom as the maidens with pitchers take away water--as the (young) (married) women of the houses (or women of chaste families) carry water from a well. kula in this latter instance may have either of the meanings, 'respectable line of descent or generation' or 'family/house', but the former instance definitely suggests 'respectable line of descent or generation'.

There are two instances of kulam in AV.(P) which appear to be unconnected with the word under discussion.

(i') in VII.\*9,3 : athāhus tiṣṭham ? kaṭukamavagūdham pale kulam /  
tasyai hiranyakesyai namah kṛṇmo arātaye //  
(ii') in IX,11,7 : gandharvas te mūlam āśicchākhāpsarasas tava /  
marīcīr āsan parṇāni sinīvālī kulam tava //

kula in these instances have not the sense of either 'family' or 'line of descent' or 'generation' or 'house' and which appears to be a "homonym" of ~~the~~ the kula we discuss.

D. Kula in the YV.

(i) kula-gopah in TS. VI,2,5,5 :

esāvai vyāghrah kulagopó yád agnís tasmād yád dīkṣitāḥ pravāset sā  
enam īśvaro 'nūthāya hāntor ná pravastavyam ātmāno gūptyai ....

KEITH : "This Agni is tigerlike to those who are residing outside the native places and kulagopa of those who are residents of the native places...."

SĀYANA : esa evāhavanīyo 'gnih pravasato vyāghravaddhimsakah, tasmāt  
so 'gnih pravasantamenam anuvartitya anuvartitya utthāya hantum samarthah  
pravāsābhāvas tvātmano rakṣanāya bhavati.

The nature of kulagopa must be the reverse of vyāghra, a ferocious animal with whom Agni is compared in respect of his attitude towards one who goes to live outside one's settlement. Kulagopa must be the protector of a kula. We may compare this word with kulapā in RV. & AV. But while the latter seems to be a technical name of the head (male & female), i.e. the master and mistress of the house, kulagopa seems to be the functional name, as depicted here. kula therefore in kulagopa here may denote 'the people constituting the kula or family' or 'the people of houses'.

E. Kula in the RV, Khilas :

(i) kule in KHI. II,6,11 :

kardamēna prajā bhūtā mayi sām bhava kárdama /  
śrīyam vāsāya me kulé mātaram padmamālinīm //

HALL : "Excellent progeny has been born to thee in Kardama. Do thou, Kardama, inhabit with me my abode; and cause Śrī thy mother, lotos garlanded, shall dwell with my family." (sic.)<sup>1</sup>

1 The Śrī sūkta or Litany to Fortune--Fitz-Edward Hall (Saugor, 1858)

SCHEFFTELOWITZ : "Von Kardama ("Dünger") sind die Geschöpfe erzeugt ;

darum sei bei mir, o Kardama, lass deine Mutter, die Śrī, die  
lotus-bekränzte, in meinem Hause weilen."<sup>1</sup>

Kāśīkar probably follows VIDYĀRANYA's<sup>2</sup> commentary as he explains :

"kardamākyena putrena .... saputrā ... abhavat/ atah he kardama  
śrīputra tvam mayi madīyagrhe sambhava samvasa/ kamalamālādhārīṇīm  
mātaram tava janāṇīm śriyam me mama kule vāmse vāsaya nivāsaya/ "

PRTHVĪDHARA<sup>2</sup> explains : "mayi sambhava mayi prasādam kuru/ ... ..

tava janāṇīm.... śriyam lakṣmīm mama vāmse pratisthāpaya tvatparā satī  
vāsam karotv ityarthah/" In the Mantra-kalyāṇārṇava<sup>2</sup> the Dhyāna is :

savatsā gauriva prītā kardamena tathendirā kalyāṇī madgrhe nityam  
nivaset padmamālīṇī// and it is said thereafter, "mantrasiddhau tu  
cirāvicchinnavāmsaparamparābhivṛddhirakhanditaisvaryaḷābhasca bhavati/.."

The interpreters generally use both vāmśa and grha where Śrī or Lakṣmī may dwell. In the next verse also the same expression śriyam vāsaya me kule occurs, but as here Kardama is requested "mayi sam bhava kardama" in the next verse another son of Śrī, Ciklīta is requested, "ciklīta vasa me grhe". So grhe there stands against kule in the next line.

(ii) kule in KHI.II,6,12 :

"āpah sravantu snigdhanī ciklīta vāsa me grhe /  
nī ca devīm mātaram śriyam vāsaya me kulé//

HALL : "May water perform its humid offices. Tarry in my domicile, Chiklīta; and make that Śrī, thy divine mother.. remain in my household."

SCHEFFTELOWITZ : "Die Wasser sollen im Strome zuführen Feuchtigkeiten,

o Ciklīta ("Schlamm"), wohne in meinem Gehöfte, auch deine göttliche Mutter, die Śrī, lass in meinem Hause weilen."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> SCHEFFTELOWITZ- "Śrīsūkta" (ZDMG, 75. Band, Leipzig, 1921) p. 48

<sup>2</sup> BHINJHIRAJA ŚĀSTRĪ — (Ed.) "Śrīsūktam" (Kāśī sanskrit series No. 4, 1949)



KĀŚIKAR following VIDYĀRĀNYA explains: "āpaḥ ababhimāninyo devatāḥ /  
snigdhanī snehayuktāni kāryāni srjanta utpādayantu / ..he ciklita  
ciklitākhyā śrīputra me mama grhe gehe vasa nivasa / ca api ca devīm  
mātaram śriyam me kule vaṁse nivāsaya samvāsaya //

SCHEFFTELOWITZ (loc.cit.p.39) says "Die Śrī ist also als Vegetationsgöttin  
 wasserreich." and (p.38) "Ihre zwei Kinder heissen "Dünger" (kardama) und  
 "Schlamm" (ciklita). " and (p.40) "Der ~~Wax~~ Dünger ist das Symbol der Frucht-  
 -barkeit." and about ciklita makes a footnote (p.38) "Klītaka Gobh. Gr.

2,1,10 "zu Brei aufgeweicht". Gerade im V.12, wo ciklita vorkommt, ist vom

Wasser die Rede. "Besides these two sons, according to Hall, Śrī, the  
 Goddess of Fortune had two more Ānanda and Śrīda as found in ~~the~~ one of  
 the additional verses : "ānandaḥ kardamaḥ śrīdaś ciklita iti viśrutāḥ /  
rsayah śriyaputrāśca (mayi) śrīrdevī devatā //

(DHUNDHI. adds mayi) ~~From this~~, HALL thinks that Śrī-da may be Kuvera,  
 Ānanda is nowhere found except in Jain theology (loc.cit.). But SCHEFFTE-  
 LOWITZ translates the verse thus: "Ānanda, Kardama, Śrīta, Ciklita, ebenso  
 Viśrita sind die Rsis und Söhne der Śrī. Die Göttin Śrī ist die Haupt-gott-  
 -heit." where instead of 'śrī-da' he reads Śrīta, and considers another  
 son 'Viśrita'.

In any case 'Kardama' and 'Ciklita' are the names of the two sons  
 of the Goddess Śrī (the naming may be allegorical) who is no other than  
 the Goddess of Fortune. Hence in the verses quoted from the KHILA, it is  
 prayed for that the Goddess may live for long in the 'family' or better in the  
 "(lower) line of descent"

F, Kula in the Brāhmanas:

In the Brāhmanas there are several instances of the use of kula.  
 In ŚB kula occurs in I,1,2,22; II,1,4,4; II,4,1,14; XI,5,3,11; XI,8,1,3;  
 XIII,4,2,17; XIV,4,3,32. In PVB.V,6,9 ; in Gop.B twice, in I,12,4 &  
 II,4,12; in JB thrice, in II,266&286 & III,3 and in JUB twice in III,28,4

Kulya as a derivative of kula is found in JUB.III,31,9.

(i) kulam in ŚB.I,1,2,22 : appears that "grhā" standing for "houses"

"athāvarohati /... grhā vai duryās te heta īśvaro grhā yajamānasya yo  
'syaiso 'dhvaryur yajñena carati tam pratyantam anu pracyotos tasyeśvarah  
kulam vikṣobdhos tām evaitad asyām prthivyām dr̥ṣṭhati ....."

It has been annotated thus :

" tam śakatasthānāt pragacchantam anusṛtya ito 'smād bhūlokāt pracyāvayi-  
-tum tasya ca yajamānasya kulam vikṣobhayitum samarthāh īśvara iti(Pa.3.4.13)  
tosun-pratyayah / "

EGGELING : "He then descends (from the cart) with the text .....

Those provided with the doors are the houses; for the houses of the  
sacrificer might indeed be capable of breaking down behind the back

of his Adhvaryu. When he walks forward (from the cart) with the

sacrifice and might crush his (the sacrificer's) family. By this (text)

however he causes them to stand firmly on this earth..."

In the next instance also "kulam vikṣobdhoh" is found.

(ii) kulam in ŚB.II,4,1,14 :

athāto grhānāmevopacārah /.....tasmād grhāh prattrasanti tasyeśvarah  
kulam vikṣobdhoratha yo ha tatra na vadati na kim cana karoti tam  
grhā upasamśrayanti.....

Annot.: evam pravāsādāgatasya yajamānasyāgnivīṣayam kartavyam upadīṣya  
grhaviṣayamapi vaktum pratijānīte.... /tasya yajamānasya kulam vamsam  
vikṣobdhoh vinashtam kartum īśvarah \* ....grhāh samarthāh bhavanti.

EGGELING : Then as to the observances in regard to (the entering of)

his house. ....It is therefore for fear of him that speaks or does

anything on this occasion that the house trembles and is likely

liable to crush his family; but him who neither speaks nor does any

thing his house receives with confidence thinking "He has not spoken

From this passage it is seen that the Brāhman guests also were the members here, he has not done anything here."

In these two instances, it appears that "grhāḥ" standing for "houses" are said to be liable to break down under certain circumstances, crushing the kula which denotes "the members of the houses" and they are in all likelihood 'relatives making families'

(iii) kulam in ŚB.XI,5,3,11 :

śaucayo jñaptah/.....hovāca purā cirād asyādāyādam kulam syād vasyaitad avihiṭam syād vidyābhistvevāham atāriṣam iti /

Annot....pūrvasmin āgāmini kāle acirāt kṣipram bhasmasamāropanapūrvam agniṃ mathitvā...../

EGGELING : "Śaucaya thus instructed..... he replied, 'before long the family would be without heirs in the case of him who would not know this' but by dint of knowledge I myself have prevailed."

Here kula apparently denotes 'a group of people staying together, probably in the same house, who may not be so related as to become common successors of one's property! This example shows that kula was not necessarily the family of the nuclear type. It might denote 'the members of the household' or the 'family of the extended type'.

(iv) kule in ŚB.II,1,4,4 :

yadvā asya brāhmaṇāḥ kule vasanty rtvijāścānrtvijāśca tenaiva tam kāmamāpnoti tasmādukā tannādriyeta /

EGGELING: "...for indeed that same wish (which he entertains in so doing) he obtains by the very fact that Brāhmans be they sacrificial ~~pri~~ priests or not are residing in his family (kula) (The fulfilment of that wish he obtains through Brāhmans whether officiating priests or not, staying in his house (kula) and taking food there"-Kāṇva text) he need therefore take no notice of that (practice)."

From this passage it is seen that the Brāhman guests also were the members of a ~~kula~~ kula. But here kula may also signify the 'house'.

(v) kule in ŚB. XI, 8, 1, 3:

sa maha iti vyāharat / paśavo vai mahastasmād vasyaite bahavo bhavanti bhūyistham asya kule mahīyante bahavo ha vā 'asyaite bhavanti bhūyistham' hāsyā kule mahīyante...

Annot.: enam agnim āyatanasthānāt bādheran kimcid upadravam kuryuh pra vā/ vāpayeyuh yajamānādanyatra gamayeyurvā/

EGGELING : "He then exclaimed 'wealth', now, wealth (F.N.-or 'joy') means 'cattle' whence they (cattle) thrive (mahīyante) <<or perhaps they enjoy themselves, gambol (St. Ptbg. D) Differently again SĀYANA : yata ebhih paśubhir mahīyate (he thrives ?) ata ete mahah >> exceedingly in the homestead of one who possesses many of them and in his homestead they do thrive exceedingly." Here also kule may signify 'in the house'.

But the sense of 'in the family (extended)' ~~xx~~ holds good quite well.

(vi) kulam & kule in ŚB XIV. 4, 3, 32 :

tēna ha vāvā tāt kulam ākhyāyate yāsmīn kule bhāvati yā evām veda

By him who knows in this way the kula where he is born is ~~renowned~~ renowned after him.

Here the sense of kula appears to be 'the race' or 'the line of descent'.

(vii) kule kule in PVB. V. 6, 9 :

Kule kule 'nnam kriyate tadyat prccheyuh kim idam kurvantīti me yajamānā annamatsyantīti bruyuh...

SĀYANA explains: anyeshv ahaṁsu gr̥hapatipradhānāḥ eva sarve brāhmaṇān bhojayitum yajamānānām gr̥he gr̥he annam kriyate pr̥thak pr̥thak brāhmaṇān bhojayitum annam kattavyam ....

Here it is said that the food is prepared separately in every kula, i.e. in every 'house' or 'family (establishment)'



(vii) kule in GopB. I.12,4 :

pañca ha vā ete brahmacārinyagnaye dhīyante... ... sa yad aharahar  
ācāryāya kule 'nutiṣṭhate so 'nuṣṭhāya bruyād dharmagupto mā gopāyeti

(viii) Kulasya in Gop.B.II.4,12 :

prajāpatir hyetebhyah pañcabhyah prāṇibhyo devān sasṛje/.....sa ha sattv-  
āmākhyaābhyupatiṣṭhate yadi ha vā api nirṇiktasyeva kulasya sandhukṣeṇa  
yajate sattvam hevākhyaābhyupatiṣṭhate/

The former is clearer than the latter. Kula here stands for ācāryakula, that is the 'house' or 'household' or 'family(extended)'

(ix) kulāya in JB.II,266:

api ha smaiko vrīhipātrah pakvah kulāyālam bhavati

This shows that one vessel of vrīhi cooked was enough for a kula, which was probably 'a group of people residing together , may be relatives or not.

(iii) Ācārya-kulam in GhUp.IV,9,1 :

...grāma ha ācāryakulam i.e. Sātyakīśa went to the Ācārya-kula, which may be the 'house' or the 'family' of the preceptor.

(iv) Ācārya-kule and Ācārya-kula-vāsin in GhUp.II,23,1 :

...viro dharmaskandhā vāśo 'bhavanta dāmasitā vāśantaḥ tava eva  
dvitīyo brahmacāryācāryakulavāśo tṛtīyo 'grāmaśāśana ācāryakule  
vāśādāyan sarva ste paṇyalokā bhavanti brahmacāryaḥ 'artatva itī/

The commentary explains : "darsapādyaśāśana-māthura-viralo brahma-  
cārī ācāryakulavāśo/niyamato vāśo/iva ācāryakule 'vāśādāyan

... ayaṁ tṛtīyo dharmaskandhah /"

The Brahmacārī used to live in the 'family of the preceptor' as a family-member.

(v) kule in GhUp.III,13,6 :

ta vā ste pañca brahmapuruṣāṇ svargasya lokasya dvārpaṇ sa ya stān  
evam pañca brahmapuruṣāṇ svargasya lokasya dvārpaṇ vada aya kule

G. kula in Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣads : ...vā...veda/

(i) kulesu in ŚānĀr. XII.5(23): 'line of descent' rather than 'family'

nāsyā prajā duṣyati jāyamānā/

na śailago bhavati na pāpakṛtyā /

nānyan mithas tasya kulesu jāyate /

irāmaṇim bailvam yo bibharti/

Because of the singular of tasya, and plural of kulesu, kula here does not denote the 'family' or 'race or line of descent' but rather signifies 'his following generations' or 'the members of his family (extended)'

(ii) kulam in BrUp. I, 5, 21 : verily the glory (śruteja) of the Universal

tena ha vāva tat kulam ācakṣate yasmin kule bhavati ya evaṇ veda/

which is already found in ŚB.XIV, 4, 3, 32 (where it is ākhyāyate for ācakṣate). Here kula is the 'race' or 'line of descent'.

(iii) ācārya-kulam in ChUp. IV, 9, 1 :

...prāpa ha ācāryakulam i.e. Satyakāma went to the ācārya-kula,

which may be the 'house' or the 'family' of the preceptor.

(iv) ācārya-kule and ācārya-kula-vāsin in ChUp. II, 23, 1 :

trayo dharmaskandhā yañño 'dhyāyanam dānamiti prathamā tapa eva

dvitīyo brahmacāryācāryakulavāsī tṛtīyo 'tyantamātmnam ācāryakule

avasādayan sarva ete punyalokā bhavanti brahmasamsthā 'mṛtatvam iti/

The commentary explains : "darsanādyastāṅga-maithuna-viralo brahma-

cārī ācāryakulavāsī/niyamato yāvajjīvam ātmānam ācāryakule 'vasādayan

... ayam tṛtīyo dharmaskandhah /" seen in your family."

The Brahmacārī used to live in the 'family' of the preceptor' as a family-member. may be assumed to be rather of the extended type.

(v) kule in ChUp. III, 13, 6 :

te vā ete pañca brahmapuruṣāḥ svargasya lokasya dvārapāḥ sa ya etān

evam pañca brahmapuruṣāḥ svargasya lokasya dvārapāṇ veda asya kule

vīro jāyate pratipadyate svargam lokam ya....veda/

Here kula denotes the 'race' or 'line of descent' rather than 'family' or 'house'.

(vi) kule in ChUp. V, 12, 1: etc.:

aupamanyava, kam tvam ātmānanam upāssa iti, divameva bhagavo rājanniti  
hovācaisa vai sutejā, ātmā vaisvānaro 'yam tvamātmanam upāsse, tasmāt  
tava sutam prasutam āsutam kule drśyate //

MITRA: "O Aupamanyava, to which soul do you offer your adorations?"

"To the heaven (diva), O King, O Lord." (replied he) "The soul" returned the first, "whom you adore is verily the glory (sutejā) of the Universal Soul (Vaisvānara) hence it is that the juice of the moonplant is seen to be well and fully expressed in your family;"

The commentary explains : "aharganādisu tava kule drśyate atīva karminas  
tvatkulīnā ityarthah"

kule here denotes, 'in the race', 'in the line of descent' i.e.

'among the people descending in the line belonging to that man'

(vii) kule in ChUp. V, 12, 2: etc.:

....bhavatyasya brahmavarcasam kule ya etam evātmanam vaisvānaramupāste

MITRA: ".... and his race becomes possessed of Vedic glory."

Here also kule has the same meaning as above.

(viii) kule in ChUp. V, 13, 1 :

...tasmāt tava bahu viśvarūpam kule drśyate

MITRA : "...hence many forms are seen in your family."

Here, of course, the meaning is not 'in your race' but 'in your family' and this family may be assumed to be rather of the extended type.

denotation of kula by 'family'.

(b) Similar Sūtra is found in/ Ap.G.S. 16.7.

(c) kula-dharma is found in Bhā.G.S. II, 10:

ātmānam kulaīratpatnyam ya samābhyo bhavanti te vāśnanti yathā vaiśam

H. kula in the Kalpasūtras :

In the Kalpasūtras, the occurrence of kula are numerous.

Besides kula we find a few derivatives like kaula (which occurs as early as in Bau.Śr.S.), kulaṭā, kulīna (found in the late Sūtras like Vā.Dh.S.), kulakalpa (in Jai.G.S.), then words compounded with kula, such as kula-dharma, deśa-kula-dharma, gotra-kulakalpa, kula-pati, kula-samkhyā, kula-dakṣiṇa, kula-sattra, kula-vrddha, kula-ja, kulam-kula, (found in not very late Sūtras) and kula-pranāsa, kulāpakarṣa, kula-strī (not earlier than in Vā.Dh.S.); and words like akula, vikula, ācārya-kula, jñāti-kula etc. (not very late).

Of the earliest Sūtras, Bau.G.S. has kula-dharma(i-a), Bau.Dh.S., kulāny akulatām yāti, and kula-samkhyā(ii-a), Bau.Śr.S., kulam hanyāt (ii-b) and kaulenādhyayanena (v-d), Lāt.Śr.S. has kula-dakṣiṇā(vii-b), Gobh.G.S. has yathā gotra-kulakalpam (i-g), and kula-pati(viii), Gaut.Dh.S. has kulamkula(vi-a).

Of the Sūtras of the next stage, Bhā.G.S. has kula-dharma(i-c) kulaśca vikulaśca(ii-c), ācārya-kula(v-a), jñāti-kula(vii-a), Āp.G.S. has kula-dharma(i-b, -d), Āp.Dh.S. has deśa-kula-dharma (i-f), kulaṭā (ii-d), kulāya (iv) and kulāt kulam(vi-b), Āp.Śr.S., kulānām(i-h) kule (i-i), kulaja(i-j) and Kāt.Śr.S. has kula-sattram(iii) and kula-dakṣiṇa (vii-c) etc. etc.

(i)(a) In Bau.G.S. II, 4, 17, we have the word kula-dharma :

athainam ekasikhas trisikhaḥ pañcasikho vā yathāvaisāṃ kula-dharmas syāt// where the word denotes "the convention or custom attached to the respective kula or race . It would be improper to give the denotation of kula by 'family'.

(b) Similar Sūtra is found in Āp.G.S. 16.7.

(c) kula-dharma is found in Bhā.G.S. II, 10:

athainam ksaitrapatyam ye sanābhyo bhavanti te prāśnanti yathā vaisāṃ



kuladharmo bhavati/

(d) Similar Sūtra is found in Āp.G.S.20,18-19: ksaitrapatyamā prāśnanti ye sanābhyo bhavanti/ yathā vaiśam kuladharmas syāt//

(e) In HirG.S.II,9,12: athaitasya ksaitrapatyasya ye sanābhayo bhavanti te prāśnanti yathāivaiśam kuladharmo bhavati/

(f) Āp.Dh.S.explains the desākuladharmas in the 14th Kaṇḍikā of the 2nd ~~prāś~~ Prāsna, after which in II,15,1 it is said : etena desākuladharmā vyākhyātāh// Like the kuladharmā which is the custom of convention followed by a particular race, desādharma means the local customs

(g) Gobh.G.S.(II.9,24) observes : "udagner utsrpya kuśalikāṅganti yathā gotrakulakalpam// The commentary explains: gotre yathā vāsisthāh pañca-cudāh syus tricūdāh kundapāyinaḥ... ..", then "kule yathā bhadradityānām sūryādyaṅatanasannidhau iti", then "kalpe yathā--śasikham kauthumādīnām vapanam samudāhrtam" and so on.

(h) "The line of descent "is the general meaning of the word kula in Āp.Śr.S.XXIV,7,2: atha hyāmusyāyanānām kulānāmyathā śūṅgasaśirayah// In the next sūtra it is said, "bharadvājāh śūṅgāh/ kṛtāh kātāh śaśirayah" Ofcourse this sūtra seems to have run continued from XXIV,5,1, where it is said : pravarān vyākhyāsyāmah/<sup>1</sup>

(i) In Āp.Śr.S.XXII,18,13 again it is noted : catvāro'sya vīrāh kula ājāyante suhotetyuktam/ This follows the 11th and 12th sūtras which are respectively catvārāscaturātrāh and atreḥ prathamāscaturvīrāh. To take birth in a kula shows that ti means 'the line of descent'.

<sup>1</sup> Pravara is, as studied by BROUHA (The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara, Cambridge, 1953, p.2), a stereotyped list of names of ancient ṛṣis or seers, believed to be the remote founders of the race.

(j) In Āp.Śr.S.XX,18,1 the word kulaja is found : that Agni may burn  
gaṇānāmtvā gaṇapatim havāmahe ity abhimantryāham syām tvam syāh  
suryāh kulajah syāt tatremaṁscaturah pado vyatisajya śyāvahā iti pado  
vyatisijyate / It denotes 'born in the line of'.

(ii)(a) There seems to be a specialisation of the meaning of kula  
 to denote 'eminent line of descent' which is found as early as in  
 the Bau.Dh.S. In I,10,27 we have : ayaññenāvivāhena vedasyotsādanena ca  
~~ayaññenāvivāhena~~ kulāny akulatām yānti brāhmaṇātikramena ca //  
 and again in I,10,29-30 : gobhir asvaīśca yānaīśca kṛṣyā rājopasevayā  
kulāny akulatām yānti yāni hīnāni mantrataḥ / mantratastu samṛddhāni  
kulāny alpadhanāny api //(29) kula-samkhyā ca gacchanti karṣanti ca  
śahad yaśah //(30) akulāni negates the concept of 'eminent kula'. The  
 other instances of kula however have the usual sense of 'line of descent'  
 and kula-samkhyā denotes 'the renown of a kula, i.e a race'.

(b) In Bau.Śr.S. XXVII,4 it is said : viññāyate --uddhrte tu kulam  
hanyād vepite nasyatāḥ prajā / bhinne saṁsarpane cāpi yajamānaḥ  
pramiyate // iti // Here kula suggests 'a respectable race'.

(c) Bhā.G.S in II,7 mentions vikula by the side of kula :  
tekaśca sasaramataṇḍulaḥ kulaśca vikulaś cārjunas ca lohitaśca  
utsrjemam śucīmanas tvam piśāṅgalohitaḥ //

(d) In Āp.Dh.S. I,19,4, kulatā is found, where kula presumably denotes  
 'an unblemished race'. cikitsakasya mṛgayoś śālyakṛntasya pāśinaḥ /  
kulatāyās sandakasya ca tesām annamanādyam //

(e) kulatā is also found later, ās in Vā.Dh.S. XIV,19 in a verse almost  
 similar : cikitsakasya mṛgayoḥ śālyahartus tu pāpinaḥ /  
sandasya kulatāyāsca udyatāpi na grhyeta //iti. the kula only

(f) In Hir.G.S.II,3,7 it is stated, naktamcāriniḥ svasā sandhinā preksate  
kulam / yā svapatsu jāgarti yasyai vi jātāyam manah / svāhā /

In the jātakarma practices, in the offering to Agni the above verse is  
striḥ pradiyate ity upadiśanti // i.e. a woman is given (in marriage) for

uttered amongst others, in which it is prayed for that Agni may burn the heart, liver etc. of such women as mentioned.

(g) The word kula-stri which is found not earlier than in Vā.Dh.S.

XVI,35 presumably denotes 'a woman of unblemished kula' (The word kula-janīh in Pai.AV. may be a forerunner of this kula-stri) :

vyavahāre mrte dāre prāyascittam kulastrīyāh /  
tesām pūrvaparicchedācchidyante trāpa vādibhih //

(h) In Vā.Dh.S we also find the word kulīna in the sense of 'one of eminent kula' (I,38) :

vidyā pranastā punar abhyupaiti kula-pranāse tviha sarvanāśah /  
kulāpadesena hayo 'pi pūjyas tasmāt kulīnām striyam udvahantīti //

Besides kulīna, we have here also kula-pranāsa and kulāpadesena, all of which denote 'eminent line of descent'.

(i) In Vā.Dh.S.XVII,80, again kulīna is mentioned : na tu khalu kulīne  
vidyamāne paragāminī syāt

(j) kulāpakarṣa in Vā.Dh.S.I,27 may denote 'an inferiority of the kula'  
i.e. 'the lowering of the prestige of the kula' :

ato hi dhruvaḥ kulāpakarṣaḥ pretya cāsvargaḥ , which follows:  
tisro brāhmaṇasya bhāryā varṇānupūrveṇa dve rājanyasya ekaikā vaiśya-  
śūdrayoh //24// śūdrāmapyeke mantravarjam tadvat //25// tathā na kuryāt //26.

Hence, a well prestiged line of descent is the specialisation of meaning of the word kula is found from the Baudhāyana Sūtras on-wards .

(iii) Another form of specialisation of the word appears not before

Kāt.sr.S I,6,23: kulasattramiṭi ~~kṛ~~ kārṣṇājinih / that is, according to Kārṣṇājini, the sattrā is to be performed by the people of the kula only viz. the father, the sons, the grandsons etc. Here the meaning of kula appears to be the people in the line --a concretisation of the abstract .

(iv) In Āp.Dh.S. II,27,3 we another use of the word kula : kulāya hi  
stri pradiyata ity upadiśanti // i.e. a woman is given (in marriage) for



obtaining the progeny or keeping the line of descent in tact.

Thus here it has the sense of the lower line of descent rather than the whole line; --still an abstract sense.

(v) Quite a different sense is obtained in the word ācārya-kula which is found the earliest in the Sūtras in Bhā.G.S. I,9 : (ā) athāsmāi daṇḍam prayacchann āha brahmacāry asi samidha adhihyapo 'sāno karma kuru mā divā susupthā bhikṣācāryam carācāryādhiṇī vedam adhīsvety apa evā-cāryakule 'snīyād....

where kula has the sense of 'the family (establishment) of the extended type' or 'the house' (of the Ācārya).

(b) ~~the~~ The word ācārya-kula is further obtained in Hir.G.S. I,19,1 occurring at the beginning of the vivāha chapter :

samāvṛttā ācāryakulān mātāpitarau bibhryāt / tābhyām anujñāto bhāryām upayacchet sa jātām nagmikām brahmacārīṇīm asagotrām /

(c) In I,8,9 also at the end of the upanayana chapter it is said :

ācāryakulavāsy asnāti kṣāram lavaṇam śamīdhānyam iti / (Ācāryakulavāsin and naiṣṭhika are the two types of the Brahmacārins, and the former denotes 'one who lives in the house of the preceptor with being one of the members of his family (in the extended sense).

(d) In Bau.Śr.S XXIV,12 is mentioned : athāpy agnyādheya eva rtvijām varānam prathamam udāharāmas tasya cet pūrvapurusaḥ vṛtāḥ syus tāneva nātivrñitāvyavacchinnāścet kaulenādhyayanena mānuṣeṇa śīlavṛttābhyām syuriti // , where kaulenādhyayanena seems to denote 'by the study made in the Ācārya-kula'.

(vi) The following examples seem to have the definite sense of 'house'.

- (a) na kulamkulah syāt in Gau.Dh.S. IX,53 is explained by the commentator Maskari as " grhād grham na gacchet/ kulameva vā kulam yasya sa kulamkulah/ satyapi dharmādhikāre pitrkula eva na tiṣṭhatīty-arthah/



-(b) "ihaiva sambhunjatīti dakṣiṇā kulātkulam vinasyatīti" in Āp.Dh.S.

II,17,9 also is explained by the commentator Haradatta thus:

sambhunjati parsparabhojanasya nimittabhūta dakṣiṇā śrāddhe dānakriyā  
grhāt grhaṃ gatvā ihaiva loke naśyatītyarthah //

(vii) The word jñātikula in Bhā.G.S. I,13 : "śatam ca jīva śaradaḥ puruṣīr  
vasūni cāryā vibhajāsi jīvātītyathāsyā agreṇa jñātikulam agnim upa-  
samādhāyādhārāvāharyā jyabhāgau juhotyagnaye janivide svāhety uttarārdha-  
pūrvārdhe somāya janivide svāhetidakṣiṇārdhapūrvārdhe" is not very clear.

-(b) But the word kula-dakṣiṇā in Lāt.Śr.S. and Kāt.Śr.S. seems to be  
go-kula-dakṣiṇā i.e. a dakṣiṇā of a lot of (cows) which shows that the  
word is getting the sense of 'a body or number'.

Lāt.Śr.S. IX,4,28 : kuladakṣiṇa indrāgnyoh kulāyah , which is explained  
by the commentator thus : indrāgnyoh kulāye gavāṃ kulāni kṛtvā sarasvatyāḥ  
kulamidam viśvarūpāyā idam gaṅgāyāḥ ityevam ādisamkhyāṃ prakṛtiṃ pūrayet  
kulādāne prayojanam kulāya iti śabdasāmānyāt //

-(c) Kāt.Śr.S. XXII,11,12 : prajākāmāpasukāmayor aindrāgnakulāyah kula-  
dakṣiṇah/ aindrāgnakulāyaiti samjñā / ~~gokulā~~ gokulañcāsyā dakṣiṇā

(viii) kulapati in Gobh.G.S. III,3,30: adbhute kulapatyoh prāyāścittam  
remains unexplained. But kulapati in later texts signify 'a master who  
has a huge number of disciples.

GRIFFITH: "I seek the worship, -----, son-bearer to the Gods!

Have I not drunk of Soma juice? (GRIFFITH says the stanza  
is difficult and thinks that GRASSMANN's suggestion to read grāh as grāh  
is better.) GRASSMANN interprets this instance of grāh in RV. as  
'der Diener (als der, welcher ergreift und zur Hand reicht)'.

SEYANA interprets grāh as grāhṇāṃ grāhīṇ. He explains that Indra taking  
the form of Iava was drinking Soma and eulogised himself by this hymn.  
GELDERER however suggests that there is a luptamā here. The rei compares  
himself with a "fertig eingereichteten oder gut verproviantierten Hause".  
He translates: Ich gebe, ein reichsausgestattetes Haus, den Göttern die Opfer  
bringend. Ich merke, dass ich Soma getrunken habe.

## I. SUMMARY :

Mahākula in RV. I.161,1 is better accepted in the sense of "one having an eminent race of line of descent or generation", as it was quite usual for the poetic composers of the Vedic hymns to call a camasa which owed its origin to the skill of the Divine Maker Tvastr by the name of mahākula as sprang from a great origin thereby having a great lineage or a great generation. Thus, although mahākula is probably figuratively employed, the word kula has in all likelihood the sense of a "social group comprising ancestors, forming the genealogical line" or "one comprising people coming down from the same ancestor". This appears to be the earliest use of the word kula

kulapāh in RV. X,179,2 and AV.VII,75(72),2 and kulapā (Fem.sg.) in AV.I,14,3 might be the 'masters' and 'the mistress' of the houses respectively, whereby the meaning of the word kula transpires to be 'the house' but it does not seem to be just the synonym of grha which is already widely in use in RV. in sense of 'the house'.<sup>1</sup> It can on the other hand be translated by the 'family of the nuclear or expanded type' comprising

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<sup>1</sup> In all occurrences in RV. grha denotes clearly 'the house, the place of residence' except one in X,119,13, which runs thus :

grhó yāmyāramkrto devébhyo havyavāhanah  
kuvit somasyāpām iti//

GRIFFITH: "I seek the worshipper's abode; oblation-bearer to the Gods:

Have I not drunk of Soma juice? (GRIFFITH says the stanza is difficult and thinks that LUDWIG's suggestion to read grhah as grham is better.) GRASSMANN interprets this instance of grha in RV. as 'der Diener (als der, welcher ergreift und zur Hand reicht)'.

SĀYANA interprets grhah as haviṣām grahitā. He explains that Indra taking the form of Lava was drinking Soma and eulogised himself by this hymn. GELDNER however suggests that there is a luptopamā here. The ṛṣi compares himself with a "fertig eingereichteten oder gut verproviantierten Hause". He translates: Ich gehe, ein reich ausgestattetes Haus, den Göttern die Opfer bringend. Ich merke, dass ich Soma getrunken habe.

The word kula-gopa occurring in YV.(TS.VI,2,5,5), we have already discussed, possibly denoted 'the de facto protector of the kula' as compared with ~~just~~ the words kulapāh and kulapā of RV. & AV. which possibly denoted 'the titular head(s) of the kula' and in these instances kula seems to have denoted 'the extended or expanded family'.

Kula in kulīnā and kula-janīh in AV(PAIPP). seems to have a "Specialisation of meaning,--of the elevative type" from the meaning denoted in mahākula in RV. Kulīnā by virtue of its suffix has already a meaning, similar to that of mahākula and kula-janīh which appears to be a forerunner of the later kula-strī, has the meaning possibly of 'women of unblemished line of descent' as opposed ~~to~~ probably to the meaning denoted by the later "kulaṭā".

Kule in the Rgvedic Khilas probably denoted 'in the race or the line of descent (posterior)'. This would be also another specialisation of the meaning found in Bk.I of RV.

Kula in the Brāhmanas generally exposes the second meaning of the word, as found in RV.(Bk.X) & AV.(VII). The members of the kula in the Brāhmanas are found to be the Brahmin guests and also those who have no right of succession to the property of one to whom the kula belonged. Thus if it denoted 'family' the family was of highly expanded size and type. The first meaning (of mahākula) is also noticed in the Brāhmanas (ŚB.XIV,4,3,32). In the Brāhmanas we find the second meaning taking a new turn. Ācāryakula denoting the expanded family of the preceptor taking the disciples as members of it gradually denoted 'the house of the preceptor!'. In the kulas the servants were also members at time of the Upaniṣads.

In the Sūtra period, the meaning of the word kula has developed in many directions. Besides keeping the first meaning, 'race or line of descent' and the specialised meaning of 'eminent lineage' which is more often used in the later Vā.Dh.S. etc., we find the concretisation of the abstract

sense 'line' to 'members of the line, viz. the sons, the grandsons etc'.

This is found as late as in the Kāt.Śr.S. The meaning 'house' is established in this period. Another sense of the word is developed in this period, viz. 'a body or number'.

We can sum up by drawing a table of the development of meanings of the kula :

RV(I)...	Race, or Line of descent <sup>A</sup> (ancestral)		
	----> (members bound by the common line of descent, who generally lived together)	Family, Members of the family <sup>B</sup> (extended)	
RV(X).....			
Av-S			
YV .....		"B	
AV-P...	-----> (noble) <sup>A1</sup>		
Khila...	-----> (posterior only) <sup>A2</sup>		
Br. ...	" <sup>A</sup> "A <sub>1</sub>	" <sup>B</sup> (highly extended) (Members of the household)-----> house <sup>B1</sup> >C (of Acārya)	
Ār./Up...	"	"B	"C
Up. ....			
Sūtra	" <sup>A</sup> "A <sub>1</sub> "A <sub>2</sub>	"C	house ----> in general C <sub>1</sub>
	---> members of the line A <sub>3</sub>	a lot of<-- B>D	

(A<sub>3</sub> might have been developed under the influence of B )  
(The development of A<sub>3</sub> and the gradual loss of B from which there  
has been many semantic "transfers" is remarkable.)

ZIEGLER draws a conclusion from this passage, which is, as put  
forth in "Vedic Index" (II, 342):

"a/....."



is grafted in the RV. verse X, 18, 3 excepting the last quarter. The last quarter of the present verse is "may we rich in heroes, address counsel" according to WHITNEY, "may we with brave sons speak to the assembly."

(3) In XII, 2, 30 (Śau)

mṛtyōh padām yopānta éta drāghīya āyuhpratarām

dādhānāh

āsīnā mṛtyum nudatā sadhasthe'tha jīvāso vidatham ā

vadema //

the last quarter is that of the RV. verses I, 117, 25; II, 12, 15 and VIII, 48, 14 changing suvirāsaḥ to atha jīvāsaḥ - whereby the emphasis is laid on "the longevity of the lives of the people" instead of "their having good heroic sons." The first line of this verse is the first line of X, 18, 2 only with slight changes. The first half of the first line only is found in V, 13, 9 (Pai). The prayer is as before "then, may we, living, speak to the council" (WHITNEY), "... to the assembly." (GRIFFITH)

(c) containing vidathā

(1) In V, 20, 12 (Śau) VI, 124, 12 (Pai) which runs thus:

acyutacyūt samādo gamistho mṛdho jētā puraetā yadyah /

indrena gupto (Śau) / klpto (Pai) vidathā nicikyaḍ

dhrddyotano dviśatām yāhi śībhām //

where only vidathā nicikyaḍ of RV. IV, 38, 4 is found in c. of the verse.

In RV., the expression belongs to the hymn to the Dadhikras.

In AV. it is said in connection with the wardrum. WHITNEY translates/...

translates: "Stirring (cyu) the unstirred, going oftenest into contests, conquering scorers, going in front, unsubduable, made safe by Indra, noting counsels burning the hearts of our adversaries go there quickly." LANMAN seems to be not satisfied with WHITNEY's "counsels" and suggests "the gatherings of our enemies." SĀYANA and V. MĀDHAVA on the other hand explain the word vidathā in RV. IV, 38, 4 by jñātavyāni and GELDNER explains "weisen Worte verstehend" in the RV. passage. GRIFFITH translates it by "watching our assemblies" explaining it as "favourable regarding our gatherings for sacrificial purposes." LUDWIG translates it into "der opfer versammlungen gedenkend!" BLOOMFIELD renders it into "attending to the hosts" and he understands it with puraetā as "like a leader attending to the troops" although he thinks the primary meaning of vidatha is "family", or "house." Hence according to LANMAN and BLOOMFIELD and GRIFFITH vidatha has the sense of gathering and respectively denoting the military troops of the enemy, of own side and the sacrificial assembly. But according to others "things to know".

(iii) Of the new instances

(a) one viz. IV, 25, 1 (Śau) and IV, 34, 1 (Pai) is common to a verse from YV. (TS. IV, 7, 15, 3; KS. XXII, 15 and MS. III, 16, 5.)

(1) This verse contains vidathāni

vāyoh savitūr vidathāni manmahe

yāvātmanvad visātho yāu ca rakṣatah (TS. has rakṣatah)

is said that yāu viśvasya paribhū (KS. has adhipā) babhūvathus

ains. KEITH translates TS. into (TS. has babhuvatus)

ordinances tāu no mūcatam (bibhrataḥ in TS., MS; bibhrathah in KS.)

(b) One verse amhasaḥ (āgasah in TS., MS., KS.) 1, 3, 6 (Pal)

"Of Vāyu, of Savitar we reverence the counsels (vidātha): YE who enter and who defend what has life (ātmanvant); ye who have become encompassers of the all - do ye free us from distress." -

WHITNEY. GRIFFITH translates "I think on Vāyus and Savitar's holy rites ye twain who penetrate and guard the living world,

....." GELDNER translates in ZDMG (LII, 746) "wir gedenken des Bundes zwischen Vāyu und Savitr." Although LANMAN says

that "the comm. is uncertain as to the sense of vidatha,"

SĀYANA's meaning appears to be more sensible than WHITNEY's

"we reverence the counsels" of the two gods or GELDNER's "des Bundes" or GRIFFITH's "Vāyu's and Savitar's holy rites" (which

appears slightly better as their functions may be called "holy

rites.") But SĀYANA's meaning of the word vidatha gives sense

and logicity to the following lines in the verse. The only

thing is that SĀYANA gives not one single meaning but two

"vedanāni" or "veditavyāni" - i.e. stutyā guṇa-viśaya-jñānāni laudat

the former, and śruti vihitakarmāni the latter (the "sacrifice"

being a vidatha.) According to SĀYANA it is said at first that

the subject of the guṇas of Vāyu and Savitr is thought of or

known, or the functions as propounded in the Śruti with regard

to them are thought of (and Vāyu is jagadādhārabhūta and Savitr

is Sarvapreraka) that they enter into what are like their own

selves, who protect and become the all pervaders and at last it

is /...

is said that these gods being such they may free them from all sins. KEITH translates TS. instance by "We venerate the ordinances of Vāyu and of Savitr, ..." etc.

(b) One verse I, 13, 4 (Śau) corresponding to XIX, 3, 6 (Pai) is also found in Khila of the RV. IV, 4, 4, which contains vidathe.

(1) yām tvā devā āsrjanta vīśva (Khi/has ajanistha dhiśva)  
īsum (dhiyam in Khi) kr̥nvānā āsanāya dhr̥ṣṇum  
 (vājam in Khi) (trīṣvai in Pai) /

sā no mṛda vidathe gr̥ṇānā  
tāsyai te nāmo astu devi  
 (mitrasya varunasya prasar̥ṣtau, in Pai)//

The thunderbolt is referred to here. SĀYANA explains vidathe gr̥ṇānā as yajñe .... adhunā mayā kriyamāṇe karmani ....

stūyamānā, and also as vidyante jñāyante naksatrāṇi asmin iti vidatham antarikṣam tasmin ... śabdāyamānā. WHITNEY translates:

"Thou whom all the gods did create the bold one, (the gods) making an arrow for hurling - do thou, besung in the council (vidatha) be merciful to us; to thee as such be homage, O goddess.

GRIFFITH translates sā no mṛda vidathe gr̥ṇānā by "Be gracious lauded thus to our assembly (congregation for sacrificial purposes.)"

The meaning of vidatha as antarikṣa as given by SĀYANA is very unusual and is probably not the actual meaning and the alternate sense yajñe stūyamānā is in better words said by GRIFFITH "lauded to our assembly (congregation for sacrificial purposes.)" WHITNEY's "council" is not clear.

(2) In/...



(2) In XVIII, 3, 19 (Śau) the spring with incessant currents

yādro mudrām pitarah somyām ca tēro sacadhvam

svājaśasohī bhūtā /

te arvānah kavaya ā sr̥notā suvidātrā vidathe

hūyamānāh //

SĀYANA explains vidathe as yajñe, which GRIFFITH and WHITNEY translate into "in our assembly" and "at the council" respectively. It is connected with hūyamānāh. So vidatha is the place or function where the fathers are invoked. Suvidatrā as it is just before vidathe, may be connected with it in the sense of RV. Svādhyo vidathe or vidathesu vedhasah of RV meaning "learned in vidatha" which may also denote "the function."

(c) containing vidatham

(1) XVII, 1, 15 (Śau) has the following lines, but the first line of it is absent in XVIII, 32, 1 (Pai)

tvām tr̥tām tvām paryesy ūtsam Sahāsradhāram

vidātham svarvidam tāved viṣṇo bahudhā vīryāni /

tvam nah pr̥ñhi paśubhir viśvarūpaih

sudhāyām mā dnehi paramē vyoman //

SĀYANA explains: he indra tvam vistīrṇam antarikṣam vyāpnose /  
athavā meghairāvṛtam udakam ... tatrāpi tvam ūtsam paryesi ...  
vidatho yajñah / ośadhi vanaspatyabhi-vṛddhidvārā yajña  
sādhanatvād utso vidatha ityucyate / athavā vidatham jñānam /  
vidathāni pracodayan (RV. III, 27, 7) ityādidarsanāt ...

WHITNEY translates the first portion of the verse thus: "Thou goest about Trita (?); thou about the fountain of a thousand streams, the heaven gaining council." GRIFFITH translates the same/...



same thus: "Round Trita, round the spring with thousand currents thou goest round the light finding assembly (note - "The company of the Gods who dwell in the highest sphere.")

Svarvidam vidatham may be the knowledge of getting heaven or bliss or the sacrifice for getting the same as SĀYANA explains that it is the same as thousand streamed fountain. This is equally applicable to "the heaven gaining council" of WHITNEY, and also to "the light finding assembly" round which the god moves according to GRIFFITH.

(2) In XVIII, 3, 70(Śau), in the funeral ceremony it is said:

pūnaredhi vanaspate yā esā nīhitastvāyi

yāthā yamasya sādana āsātei vidathā vadan

"Give back, O forest tree, him who is deposited here with thee, that in Yama's seat he may sit speaking counsels." - WHITNEY.

GRIFFITH translates the latter half thus: "... That he may

(iv) dwell in Yama's home addressing the assemblies there." SĀYANA

most explains vidathāni as viññānāni then as yajñātmakāni svārjitāni

RV. karmāni object of van i.e. prakāśayan. Here vidathā appears

to be the accusative plural and the meaning seems to be as in

vidatham ā vadema or vidatham ā vadāsi etc. The man going to

the house of Yama will speak vidatha there, as the bride speaks

vidatha till the old age of her and her husband or the people

favoured by gods may speak vidatha. The absence of ā here

after vidathā may be due to the ā at the end of vidathā.

(SĀYANA explains vidatha differently in AV. although it occurs

in verses repeated from RV. and it is not impossible that the

meaning/....

(c) /

meaning of RV. vidatha is understood and applied differently in AV.)

(d) containing vidathasya

In VII, 77, 4 (Śau) corresponding to XX, 11, 8 (Pai)

yād usriyāsv āhutam ghr̥tam páyo 'yām

sā vām āsvinā bhāga ā gatam /

mādhvī dhartārā vidāthasya satpatī

taptam gharmām pibatam rocané divāh //

WHITNEY translates: "The offered ghee, the milk, which is in the ruddy (Kine) that is your portion here, ye Ásvins; come; ye sweet ones, maintainers of the council (vidatha), lords of the good, drink ye the heated gharma in the shining space of the sky." GRIFFITH translates dhartārā vidathasya by "Guards of Sacrifice." SĀYANA as usual explains it by saying vidatha is a name of yajña and its dhartārā is explained.

(iv) The RV. verses which have been repeated or adapted in AV. are mostly either (1) popular refrains occurring for more than once in RV. e.g. (a) suvirāso vidatham ā vadema of II, 12, 15 etc. which is repeated once and grafted twice (once changing suvirāsaḥ to atha jīvāsuh) (b) brhad vadema vidathe suvirāḥ of II, 23, 19 etc. which is once grafted, or (2) occurring in the later books of RV. (The tenth and first mandalas) e.g.

(a) vasinī tvam vidatham ā vadāsi of X, 85, 26 occurring once, and

(b) jivri vidatham ā vadāthah of X, 85, 27 which is once repeated with certain changes (spr̥sasva for sr̥jasva, jirvir or cirvir for jivri, ā vadāsi for ā vadāthah) and grafted in another verse.

(c) /..



- (c) yasmin devā vidathe mādayante (X, 12, 7)  
 (d) pra te mahe vidathe śamsiṣam harī (X, 96, 1)  
 (e) pracodayantā vidathesu kārū (X, 110, 7)  
 (f) agnim hotāram vidathāya jījanan (X, 11, 3)  
 (g) yatra suparnā .... vidathābhisvaranti (I, 164, 21) (changing bhāgam to bhaksam), all repeated once in AV.

Besides these, one Kavir na ninyamvidathāni sādhan of IV, 16, 3 is once repeated, and vidathāni nicikyat of IV, 38, 4 (which may not be a case of repetition of RV. instance) only used once. Besides vidathā vadan in (iii) (c) (2) has the similarity with vidathamā vad- which is very often used.

In the new instances, except the locative in vidathe grnānā and vidathe hūyamānā where vidatha probably denotes the old RV. sense of the place or function of the holy rites where gods are invoked, in all the instances of vidatha the abstract etymological sense of nijnāna (SĀYANA - in XVIII, 3, 70 (Śau) ) etc., seems to be more appropriate and it is not impossible that this sense being more popular in AV., was also employed to the words in the quotations from RV. even, where the sense was different e.g. vidatham ā vad in RV. might have had the locative sense of the place or function of the holy rites, while the same in AV. seems to have been used in the accusative with the etymological sense of the word.

(ii) Besides these two instances above, Khila has two instances of vidatha, two of vidathā, one of vidathas and one of vidathya.

### C. Vidatha in the RV. Khilas

(1) Of the instances of vidatha and its derivative vidathya occurring in the Khila Sūktas which are as many as eight, one is found in AV.

(Khi /...

(Khi IV, 4, 4 = AV. (Śau) I, 13, 4 and (Pai) XIX, 3, 6) and one is found in VS. (Khi IV, 11, 2 = VS. XXXIV, 2)

yēna kármāny apáso manāsīno function where people have  
yajñé kṛṇvānti vidáthesu dhīrāḥ /  
yádapūrvām yaksāmantāḥ prajānām  
tánme mānāḥ sīvasamkalpamastu //

("Whereby the wise and thoughtful in assemblies, active in sacrifice, perform their duties, The peerless spirit stored in living creatures, may that, my mind be moved by right intention." - GRIFFITH)

SĀYANA explains vidáthesu as jñānesu and interprets it as used in Locative Absolute. (vidáthesu jñānesu satsu ... yajñasambandhinām havirā dipadārthānām jñānesu satsu ityarthah.) Thus he interprets dhīrāḥ as not connected with vidáthesu although in all likelihood it was so connected. Actually, in essence, SĀYANA's meaning does not alter much if dhīrāḥ is connected with vidáthesu if vidáthesu is explained as "in the congregational holy rites comprising sacrifices and invocations to the gods" which seems to be the general meaning of vidatha in RV. Vidathas as we have seen after discussing the occurrences in RV. are different from yajña as they might have included many things other than that knowledge in which was a great qualification.

(ii) Besides these two instances above, Khila has two instances of vidathe, two of vidáthesu, one of vidathena and one of vidathya.

(a) vidathe

(1) In I, 9, 2

yā dāmsāmsi jaritā dustārā / vām  
yā samsanti jaritārah sutesu /

yāñihā pusyantu vidhā jāneṣu

yāir asnūtho vidāthe somapéyam //

vidatha appears to be a place or function where people have soma drink.

(2) In I, 9, 6

yābhih śacībhir vṛṣanā dadhīcam

yābhisturam kāvaṣeyam makhāsyā //

yābhirdhiyam jīnvathāke nīpānā

tābhirno'vatam vidāthe gabhīrā //

vidathe gabhīrā seems to denote "unconceivable in vidatha" and the abstract etymological sense of "wisdom" is more applicable although with the meaning of "the function of holy rites etc." can not be altogether misfit.

(b) vidathesu

(1) In I, 2, 2

yādasvām śvetām dadhato abhighnan-

nāsatyā bhūjyū sumātāya perāve //

tām vāmrātim vidāthesu viprā

rebhanto dasrāv agaman manasyūm //

vidathesu viprā rebhanto indicates that vidatha-s were either the places or functions of (congregational) religious rites.

(2) In I, 3, 7

evā nisāccopanīśacca viprā

yuvām rebhatyan sayūja supārnayau //

brāhmāny akratur vidāthesu śākrā

dhattām tāyostānayam tokamāgryam //

brahmāny akratur vidathesu śakrā also indicates that vidathas were the places or functions of religious rites like invocations of gods by composing hymns etc. In this instance,

(c) vidathena

(1) In I, 11, 4

purā viśīrṣṇā vidathena devā

nā vāśiṣo rundhata nāpinākam /

ijānā bahvīru sāmā yadāsyā

śiro dattam sāmādhānvāruhan svāḥ //

the reference is to the Āsvins' replacing the head of Dadhyac by a horse's head before learning from him the madhuvidyā

prohibited by Indra. RV. I, 116, 12 cd. Śātyāyana's refer-

ence to the story "atha cyavana uvāca - kuniksetre 'paśīrṣṇā yajñena yajamānā na kāmam āpnuvanti ... etc." (SARUP's

'Rgarthadīpika' I, 612) from which it is evident that

Śātyāyana might have recognised vidathena as yajñena although

from the many instances of RV. we have seen that vidatha was

probably a place or a function of different religious rites viz. sacrifice, invocation etc.

(d) vidathya

(1) In V, 12, 1

yāḥ śabheyo vidathyaḥ sūtvā yajvā ca pūruṣaḥ /

sūryam cāmū riśādasam tāddevāḥprāgakalpayan

The man makes savana and yajana and is called sabheya and

vidathya. But from this it is not proper to infer that in

Sabhā, savana was the main activity while in vidatha, it was

yajana. But as the suffixes indicate sabheya is one who is

an/...



an expert in the activities of sabhā and vidathya is one who is an expert in the works of vidathe, which seems to be connected with religious rites, in this instance.

(iii) Thus in the RV. Khila the meaning of vidatha seems to be "the place or function of some religious rites." These rites might be "congregational" but it is not clear in the Khila instances and in Khi I, 9, 6 (Example (a) (2)) vidatha may have the abstract etymological meaning.

#### D. vidatha in the Yajurveda.

(i) In the Yajurveda in many places the RV. verse is quoted for the application in certain rites as it is found in the Brāhmaṇas.

(a) (1) VS. XXV, 20 (Mā); XXVII, 13, 24 (Kā)

is repeated RV. I, 89, 7.

(2) VS. XXXIV, 58 (Mā); XXXIII, 2, 46 (Kā); MS IV, 12, 1

is repeated RV. II, 23, 19 and 24, 16.

(3) VS. XXXVI, 34 (Mā); XXXII, 3, 34 (Kā)

is repeated RV. I, 186, 1.

(4) VS. XXV, 24 (Mā); XXVII, 13, 28 (Kā); TS IV, 6, 8, 1;

MS. III. 16, 1 and KS. XLVI, 4

is repeated RV. I, 162, 1.

(5) KS. II. 15; MS IV, 11, 2

is repeated RV. III, 1, 1.

(6) MS. IV, 13, 1

is repeated RV. III. 8, 5.

(7) MS. IV, 14, 12

is repeated RV. V, 63, 2.

(8) MS. IV, 14, 1

is repeated RV. II, 40, 6.

(9) VS. XXIX, 32; MS. IV, 13, 3; KS. XVI, 20

is repeated RV. X, 110, 7.

(10) KS. XXXIX, 13 is repeated RV. X, 91, 8

(11) MS. IV, 11, 1 is repeated RV. VII, 93, 3

(12) KS. XXV, 1 is repeated RV. I. 89, 7 and 90, 7.

(13) VS. XXXIV, 21 (Mā); XXXIII, 1, 16 (Kā); MS. IV, 14, 1

is repeated RV. I, 91, 20.

(14) TS. II, 1, 11, 5; KS. XI, 12; IV, 14, 14

is repeated RV. II. 27, 8.

(15) Besides these RV. verses repeated, we have seen how

many sylls AV. IV, 25, 1 (Śau) corresponds to TS. IV, 7, 15, 3;

the rites KS. XXII, 15 and MS. III, 16, 5 (Example B (iii) (a)

season words (1).)

(b) In addition to the above quoted passages there are only two occurrences which are new in YV.

(1) one found in VS. (Mā) XXII, 2 i.e. (Kā) XXIV, 1, 2;

TS. IV, 1, 2, 1 and VII, 1, 11, 1; MS. III, 12, 1; KS. XLI, 2

imām'agr̥bhnan ras'ānāmṛtasya pūva (pūrvā in Ms.)

āyusi vidatheṣu kavyā / tayā devāḥ sutamā

babhūvur ṛtasya sāmant saramā rapanti

("The band of order they grasped

At their assemblies in ages gone by: the sages

Therewith the gods mastered the pressed (juice)

In the Sāman of order proclaiming the stream." -KEITH)

SĀYANA in explaining the passage in TS. gives the meaning of

kavyāḥ /...

(11) Kavyāḥ as yajñāḥ (Kavayo vidvāṃsah ṛtvijāḥ tāmāḥantīti Kavyāḥ yajñāḥ vidathesu kavyesu yajñesu jyotiṣtomādiṣu ṛtasya āyusi nimitta-bhūte sati ... pūrve maharṣaya imām rasanām svīkṛtavantaḥ / vidathesu is not explained by him but it is said that sacrifices are held in the vidathas.

(2) The other occurrence in YV. is practically a pair of instances occurring only in VS. (Mā) XXIII, 57, and 58., (Kā) XXV, 10, 5 and 6.

kātyasya viṣṭhāḥ kātyakṣārāṇi kātiḥomāsaḥ katidhā  
sāmiddhah /

3. vidatha in the text yajñasya tvā vidathā prcchamatra katihotara ṛtuso vajanti //

("How many different forms hath this (i.e. the sacrifice), how many syllables, burnt oblations, brands for kindling. ? Here, of the rites of sacrifice I ask thee. How many Hotars in due season worshio." - GRIFFITH)

MAHIDHARA explains "yajñasya vidathā vettīti vidah vidasya bhāvo vidathā yajñaveditṛtvena hetunā atra sthale tvāmahaṃ prcchāmi."

The Udgātr replies in the next verse.

ṣaḍasya viṣṭhāḥ śatamakṣārāṇyaśīti ḥomāḥ  
sāmido ha tisraḥ /  
yajñasya te vidathā prābravīmi sapta hōtāra  
ṛtuso vajanti //

("Sixfold its form, its syllables a hundred eighty burnt offerings, just three brands for kindling. To thee I tell the rites of sacrificing. Seven Hotars worship in appointed season." -

GRIFFITH) Here yajñasya vidathā prcch- indicates the abstract sense of the word vidatha viz. vijñāna or things to know in respect of the sacrifice.

(ii) In YV. the very few new uses of the word vidatha, with comparatively large number of repeated RV. instances, show that the word is no more in currency except in some "fossilised" uses. In the exclusive instance of VS., the word has the abstract etymological sense and in the other new instance also it may have the same sense although SĀYANA and the European scholars interpret it as the place or function of the religious rites, the meaning, however, being not very clearly determined.

#### E. vidatha in the 'Brāhmanas'

(i) In the Brāhmanas there is no use of the word vidatha. All the uses are just in repetitions from RV. either the full verses or the portions.

(a) In A Br. II, 2, a portion of RV. III, 8, 5 is referred to and in IV, 3 - a portion of RV. X, 96, 1.

(b) In Śāṅ Br., in VIII, 5 reference is made to brhadvadema vidathe suvīrāḥ which occurs in most of the closing verses in the 2nd Mandala, in XXV, 7 the portion of RV. X, 96, 1 and in XIX, 9 the portion of I, 64, 1 are referred to.

(c) T Br. has a large number of RV. quotations, mostly in full in III, 6, 12, 1 - RV. VII, 93, 3; in III, 11, 6, 3 - RV. V, 21, 1; in II, 8, 3, 1 - RV. I. 91, 20; in II, 4, 3, 10 and III, 7, 9, 6 - RV. X, 96, 1 (portion); in II, 8, 1, 6 - RV. II, 40, 6; in II, 8, 5, 1 - RV. II, 23, 19 and 24, 16; in II, 8, 6, 9 - RV. II, 33, 15; in II, 8, 7, 6 of RV. I, 151, 1; in III, 6, 1, 3 of RV. III, 8, 5, in I, 2, 1, 13; RV. I, 143, 7; in II, 8, 5, 8-9 - RV. /...



"a Vedic host fought according to clan (vis) village (grāma) and family,"

and is thus commented upon:

"this conclusion is hardly warranted, there being nothing to show that there is any intention to present a distinct series of divisions."

"Vedic Index" also points out that RV. III, 26, 2, with which ZIMMER compares RV. V, 53, 11, has no sardha, although it has vrātam vrātam and gaṇam gaṇam with reference to the Maruts.

In 'Naighantuka' I, 11, gaṇa is mentioned among the "57 vān-nāmas." YĀSKA also gives not a very satisfactory etymological meaning in 'Nirukta' VI, 36 of the word occurring in RV. I, 116, 8:

"gaṇa and gana are so called because they count" (SARUP)<sup>1</sup>

But at the time of PĀNINI, the meaning of gaṇa is saṃgha, as it is found in the Sūtra III, 3, 86 "Samghodghau gaṇaprasamsayoh" (The words saṃgha and udgha are irregularly formed in the sense of a "collection" and a "praise" respectively.)

(b) In two instances the term marutāṃ gaṇa i.e. the gaṇa of the Maruts in the same sense is found, in V, 56, 1 and I, 137, 5.

(c) In six instances, the compound marut-gaṇa occurs, viz.

I, 23, 8; II, 41, 15; VI, 52, 11; VIII, 39, 2; IX, 66, 26 and X, 66, 2.

(3) In IX, 96, 17 (b) saṃbhanti vahnin maruto gaṇena, although in the consideration of the subject of the verb saṃbhanti and also in the interpretation of vahnin there is difference of opinion between the European scholars like GRIFFITH, SELWY and/.....

<sup>1</sup>L. SARUP 'The Nighantu and the Nirukta' (1962), Delhi - P. 112

RV. IV, 21, 4; in III, 6, 3, 4 - RV. X, 110, 7. Once in

III, 8, 3, 4 a YV. verse is repeated TS. IV, 1, 2, 1 and VII,

1. The Vedic Samhitas and translations.

1, 11, 1; MS. III, 12, 1; KS. XLI, 2 and VS. (Mā) XXII, 2.

1. Atharvaveda: Ed. by S. S. Pandit, Bombay, 1895-98

: Ed. by Vishva Bandhu, Hoshiarpur, 1960

: Ed. by R. Roth & W.D. Whitney, Berlin, 1924

F. vidatha in 'Aranyaka'

(of the Paipp.) Ed. by Sachu Vira Saraswati, Vihar Series, 1936-41

In T Ār. X, 39, 1 is quoted RV. brhad vadema vidathe suvīrah

Trans. by M. Bloomfield. SSE vol. XLII Oxford, 1897

of the 2nd Mandala.

Trans. by R.T.M. Griffith (1905)

Trans. by W.D. Whitney (H.O.S. Vol 7 and 8) 1905

2. G. It is not necessary to go beyond the stage of the Brāhmanas to collect the use of vidatha which is lost in the current speech probably after the RV. stage. The later books of the RV. of course might be contemporary to some portions of AV. and YV. and the RV. Khilas<sup>1</sup>, where we find certain new uses of the word mostly in the etymological sense.

Vājasaneyi Samhita: Ed. by A. Weber, London, 1852

Trans. by R.T.M. Griffith, 1899

3. Rigveda: Ed. by W. B. Deussen with comm. of Sāyana

Ed. by Sastakam with comm. of Sāyana, Poona, 1933-51

<sup>1</sup> Not all the portions of AV., YV. and Khila Sūktas (which were added as an Appendix only because they were found outside the collection of Śākala) were late, some of them can be called contemporaneous with the earlier books of the RV. but for the sake of convenience AV., YV. and Khilas can generally be called later than RV.

Trans. by A. Ludwig (1898)

Trans. by Hillebrandt (Selected hymns) (Lieder des Rigveda)

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1. Altindische Brāhmaṇa: Ed. by Th. Aufrecht, Bonn, 1879

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# A. Gana in RV:

Gana in RV is found mostly in singular - 32 out of 36. In the compounded forms as well as reduplicated forms as ganam ganam, of course, the plural sense of the word may be present. But ganāḥ is found once in V, 79, 5, ganānām in II, 23, 1, gaṇeṣu in X, 112, 9, ganaiḥ in I, 6, 8, i.e. only 4 plural forms, - 2 in the early and 2 in the later Books. There are 36 occurrences of single gana in different cases. Besides, there are two instances of ganam ganam, three examples of the word gana-sri, and some examples of compounded forms with gana, viz. gaṇapati - 2, sagana - 6, marud-gana - 6, sumad-gana - 1, sarva-gana - 2. Altogether there are 58 instances excluding one instance of vr̥ṣa-gana which is the name of a R̥ṣi.

(i) - (a) In thirteen instances, gana is qualified by māruta in the clear sense of the band comprising the Maruts, viz.,

I, 14, 3; I, 38, 15; I, 64, 12; III, 32, 2; V, 52, 13;  
V, 52, 14; V, 53, 10; V, 58, 1; V, 61, 3; VI, 16, 24;  
VIII, 94, 12; X, 36, 7 and X, 77, 1.

(b) In two instances the term marutām gana i.e. the gana of the Maruts in the same sense is found, in V, 56, 1 and X, 137, 5.

(c) In six instances, the compound marud-gana occurs, viz.

I, 23, 8; II, 41, 15; VI, 52, 11; VIII, 89, 2; IX, 66, 26  
and X, 66, 2.

(d) In IX, 96, 17 (b) śumbhānti vahnim marūto gaṇēna, although in the consideration of the subject of the verb śumbhanti and also in the interpretation of vahnim there is difference of opinion between the European scholars like GRIFFITH, GELDNER and/.....



and the Indian commentator SĀYANA, they all agree that maruto ganena signifies 'Maruts with their troop or group.'

(e) That the gana in I, 87, 4; V, 58, 2 and VII, 58, 1 refers to the Maruts is clear from the context.

(f) Regarding the verse VII, 56, 7 -

ugram va ojah sthirā śavāmsy  
adhā marūdbhir ganās tuviśmān /

the context does not make it clear who is meant by the gana.

SĀYANA explains the latter portion thus: "adha apica marūdbhir ganāḥ marutām saṃghaḥ tuviśmān vṛddhimān bhavatu"

GRIFFITH: "Yea, mighty is your power and firm your strength,  
so potent with the Maruts be the band."

GELDNER: "Stark ist eure stärke, fest die Macht, und durch  
die Marut ist die Schar Kraftvoll!"

M. MÜLLER: "Strong is your strength, steadfast your powers,  
and thus by the Maruts is this clan mighty."

The European scholars do not generally think that the gana here refers to the Maruts. V. MĀDHAVA also explains marūdbhir ārakhyah (emended by SARUP as ārabdhah which also does not make any clear sense) saṅgho (emended by SARUP) (vā) vṛddhimān.

The Anukramanī notes that the deity of the hymn is the Maruts. The hymn starts in a peculiar style with the description of men unknown, who are to be understood as the Maruts and it could be understood by marūdbhir ganās tuviśmān here that a tuviśmān gana is formed by the Maruts. But in the fifth verse of the same hymn, is found a very similar expression

sā vīt suvīrā marūdbhirastu  
Sanāt sāhantī pūsyantī nṛṇām

which is explained by SĀYANA as sobhana - putrayuktā sā prajā attested by any other scholar. The first line of the verse runs marutah paricaranti and as in the case of vīt there, who is not the/.....

Maruts, the gana here may be the band of the people who seek the grace of the Maruts to be tuviṣmān by the Maruts, as the European interpreters generally suppose. But the question should be better unsolved as the uncertain meaning of the verse is liable to misdirect the conclusion.

(g) gaṇasribhiḥ is found an adjective of marudbhiḥ in V, 60, 8:

agne marudbhiḥ subhāyadbhir ṛkvabhiḥ

sōmam piba mandasānō gaṇasribhiḥ /

Here Agni is addressed to drink soma along with the Maruts

("gaṇabhāvamāśrayadbhiḥ" - SĀYANA) ("Agni! Trink lustig Soma

mit der prunkenden lobsingenden Marut, der ausser lesenen Schar." -

GELDNER) ("O Agni, with the Maruts as they gleam and sing,

gathered in troop, rejoicing drink the Soma juice" - GRIFFITH)

Here in spite of slight differences. it is unanimously accepted

that the Maruts formed in gana or 'band.'

(h) In I, 64, 9 (ab) the Maruts are also addressed as gaṇasriyaḥ

rōdasī ā vadatā gaṇasriyo

nṛsācaḥ sūraḥ sāvasāhi manyavaḥ . /

(ii) - (a) The word gaṇasriyaḥ in VIII, 23, 4 refers to Agni and there is no difference of opinion regarding it, but while SĀYANA explains the word as "hvirādānārtham yajamānaganam śrayati tasya", GRASSMANN interprets gana as the flames of Agni.

(b) In VIII, 9, 5 also GRASSMANN attributes the same meaning to gana viz. "der Flammen die mit Agni sich scharen, but it is not attested by any other scholar. The first line of the verse runs thus: /.....

"When he hath stirred the line of his attendants with the  
pure/.....

thus:

agne yāhī dūtyam mā riṣanyo

devā ācchā brahmakṛtā gaṇena /

SĀYANA explains: "he agne havirvahanādi Karma devān accha  
gaṇena samghena sapa brahmakṛto asmān asmadyāmsca tava Stotṛn  
mā himsīh

GRIFFITH: "GO on thy message to the Gods and fail not, O Agni,  
with their hand who pray and worship."

GELDNER: "Agni! Geh deinen Botengang - versieh dich nicht -  
zu den Gottern von der erbauenden (Sänger) schar  
(gesandt)....

The gaṇa here comprises the human worshippers of Agni.

(c) In another verse, viz. V, 1, 3 (ab)

yad īm gaṇasya raśanāwajīgah

śūcirāṅkte śūcibhir gōbhir agnīh /

Agni is the deity of the hymn. V. MĀDHAVA interprets: "yadā  
prāṇijātasya niyamanīm nidrām nigarati tadānīm agnīh suddhāih  
tejobhih jagat āṅkte"

SĀYANA's explanation is more or less on the same line. He says  
that Agni is lighted dispelling the darkness obstructing all  
activities which like a rope ties the gaṇa or the universe com-  
prising saṃgha-s; then the bright Agni with the brightened  
rays annoints the jagat or universe. This meaning no doubt  
has its context in verse 2.

GRIFFITH admitting that the exact meaning of the words of the  
text is uncertain, translates:

"When he hath stirred the line of his attendants with the  
pure/.....



pure milk, pure Agni is annointed."

GELDNER: "Wenn er das Seil/der Schar erweckt hat wird der reine Agni mit reinem Kuh (schmalz) gesalbt."

GELDNER'S translation is only too literal and does not explain anything, but he and Griffith appear to suggest that gana is the people worshipping Agni (who form a belt round Agni in the altar) which meaning seems better than the meaning given by the Indian commentators, because the meaning of gana as samghātmaka jagat was rather unusual. GRASSMANN suggests the meaning "der Flammen..." for gana.

- (iii) - (a) The Maruts forming a gana is said to belong to Indra who is addressed in III, 35, 9 (ab)

yā ābhajo marūta indra sōme

ye tvām āvardhann ābhavan ganās te

- (b) In many instances Indra is mentioned as saganah marudbhih, viz. in I, 101, 9; III, 47, 2 and 4; III, 52, 7; X, 157, 3.

- (c) In III, 32, 3 where Indra is addressed, saganah occurs not with marudbhih but with rudrebhih. SĀYANA explains that it is an appellative term for the Maruts. GELDNER explains rudrebhih saganah as "mit den Rudra (Söhnen) als Gefolge." Rudras are called the "Father of the Maruts" in a few verses such as I, 114, 6 and 9; II, 33, 1; V, 52, 16; V, 60, 5, but in numerous instances such as I, 39, 4 and 7; I, 64, 3; I, 85, 2; I, 100, 5; I, 101, 7; II, 34, 9; V, 54, 4; V, 60, 6; VIII, 7, 12; VIII, 13, 28 etc.etc. Maruts are called by the name of Rudras:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Only in VIII, 54, 3 i.e. Vāl. 6. 3 (cd) "Vāsavo rudrā āvasēna ā gamāñchrnvāntu marūto hāvam" the Maruts are mentioned separately besides the Vasus and the Rudras. The Rudras and the Vasus are mentioned in I. 58, 3 and VII, 5, 9 and the Rudras, the Vasus and the Ādityas together in many instances such as II, 31, 1; III, 8, 8; VIII, 35, 1; VIII, 101, 15; X, 66, 12; X, 125, 1; X, 128, 9 and X, 150, 1.



(d) In I, 6, 8: anavadyair abhidyubhir makhah sahasvad arcati

ganair indrasya kamyaih //

ganaih is explained by SĀYANA as marutsamūhaih sahitaṁ. He thinks that the Maruts are divided into seven ganas of seven each. V. MĀDHAVA, however, comments regarding the plural form: "ganasabdah ekavacana - bahuvacane paryāyena bhavataḥ".

GRIFFITH follows M. MÜLLER in the translation:

"With Indra's well-beloved hosts, the blameless,  
hastening to heaven / The sacrificer cries aloud."

He adds a note that the interpretation is "conjectural and not altogether satisfactory."

GELDNER's translation is:

"Mit den untadeligen, himmlischen bei Indra beliebten  
(Sänger) scharen singt der Freigebige das Sieghafte  
(Lied)"

but he notes there: "Die Ganas sind die Angiras bez. deren Nachkommen, die gegen wärtigen Sänger ...." According to GRIFFITH and M. MÜLLER the hymn seems to describe the greatness of Indra with the Maruts serving Him. In verse 7, GRIFFITH says, the Maruts are addressed, but according to BENFEY, the Sun. In Verse 6, the "worshipping" "singers" are referred to, while in Verse 5 they are called as "vahnibhiḥ āvinda usriyā ānu" ("with the Tempest-Gods," .... "Foundest the Kine even in the cave" - GRIFFITH). But the Angirases are often said to help Indra and Brhaspati in this matter. But as some activities which characterise the Maruts are more often said in the verse, we can accept the explanation of SĀYANA and V. MĀDHAVA that the gana refers to the band of the Maruts.

<sup>1</sup> The verse occurs in VS. (M2) XIII, 19, and TS. II, 3, 14, 3. The commentaries of MAHIDHARA, UYATA and BB on the expression has been taken from 'Rgvedaśikṣā' Vol. III - by L. SARUP, 1943, Lahore p. 134.

- (iv) - (a) The Āṅgīrasas, however, are no doubt referred to in verse IV, 50, 5 (ab), the deity of the hymn being Brhaspati.

sá sustúbhā sá r̥kvatā gaṇēna

valám ruroja phaligám rávena

This is often repeated in the various saṁtītas of IV. (MS.

IV, 12, 1; TS. II, 13, 14, 4; KS X, 13)

GRIFFITH: "With the loud-shouting band who sang his praises,  
with thunder, he destroyed obstructive Vala."

GELDNER: "Er hat mit seiner schön singenden, er mit seiner  
verkundigen Schar den Vala erbrochen ...." (Note -  
Die Schar sind die Angiras.')

MACDONELL: ('Vedic Reader') translates: "He with his well  
praising jubilant throng burst open with roar the  
enclosing cave." In the Note he remarks about  
gaṇēna: "the Angirases who in I, 62, 3 are associated with Indra and Brhaspati in the finding of  
the cows."

(In I, 62, 3 the Āṅgīrasas are mentioned as narah)

- (b) To Brahmanaspati is addressed the hymn II, 23, the first  
verse of which has

gaṇānām tvā gaṇapatim havāmahe

Kavim kavīnām upamaśravastamam /

SĀYANA explains gaṇānām gaṇapatim as devādigāṇānām sambandhinām  
svīyānām patim. V. MĀDHAVA interprets it as devagaṇānām patim.

UVĀTA explains it as strīgaṇānām madhye yugapad gaṇapatim.

MAHĪDHARA explains it as gaṇānām madhye gaṇarūpeṇa priyasya pālakam  
and BB. as gaṇānām sarveṣām sambandhinām grāmādi - saṅghāta-  
svāminam. 1

<sup>1</sup> The verse occurs in VS. (Mā) XXIII, 19, and TS. II, 3, 14, 3. The commentaries of MAHĪDHARA, UVĀTA and BB on the expression has been taken from 'Rgarthadīpikā' Vol. III - by L. SARUP, 1943, Lahore p. 134.

GRIFFITH: "We call thee Lord and Leader of the Heavenly hosts,  
the wise among the wise, the famousest of all."

(v) - (a) In VI, 40, 1, Indra is requested to take a seat amidst the  
(Regarding Brahmanaspati GRIFFITH notes that he alternates with  
Brhaspati, the Deity in whom the action of the worshipper upon  
the Gods is personified.) (p.17 and p.287)

GELDNER: "Wir rufen dich, den Herrn der (Sänger) Scharen an den  
hoch berühmtesten, Weisen der Weisen, den Oberherren  
der Segens - worte, O Brahmanaspati." (It is noted:

gana hier wohl vom Sänger chor vgl. 4, 50, 5; 1, 6, 8;

6, 40, 1; 10, 14, 3) gana in IV, 50, 5, has been

explained as the gana of the Angirases but the gana

in I, 6, 8 probably refers to the Maruts although

GELDNER suggests "Sängerchor" and "Angiras". VI, 40, 1

is discussed later where also the gana does not appear

to comprise the Angiras. In X, 14, 3 there is no

gana but it is mentioned that Brhaspati is praised by

the Angirases, who "appear to have been regarded as a

race of higher beings between gods and men, the

typical first sacrificers, whose ritual is the pattern

which later priests must follow." (GRIFFITH Vol. I, p.1.)

Here ganānām ganapatim appears to signify manusyastotrganānām  
madhye āngiroganānām patim brahmanaspatim.

(c) In X, 112, 9, the deity of the hymn, Indra is addressed as  
ganapate ganeṣu, where SĀYANA explains ganeṣu as stotrganēṣu.

GRIFFITH translates. "Lord of the hosts, amid our bands ..."

and GELDNER "... du Herr der Schar, unter den (Sänger) scharen;"

So ganeṣu being the band of singers or invokers, Indra as ganapati

is/.....

is the lord of the gana of the Maruts, or the Āṅgirasas.

(v) - (a) In VI, 40, 1, Indra is requested to take a seat amidst the gana:

utá prā gāya gāná á nisadyā  
- thā yajñāya grnaté vayodhāh //

But this gane does not signify the gana of the Āṅgirasas as in IV, 50, 5, nor that of the Maruts, but as stotr̥samghe, as explained by SĀYANA.

GRIFFITH: "Begin the songs seated in our assembly," where

"assembly" is made the synonym of gana.

GELDNER: "... und stimme den Gesang an, in der (Sänger Kraft zum Opfer."

GRASSMANN also has taken this example as well as that of X, 112, 9 above, under his fifth category, viz. "der Menschen," but ganānām in II. 23, 1 has also been interpreted by him with the meaning of the second category, viz. "der mit Brahmanaspati verbundenen Genien" like the gana in IV, 50, 5 or the word ganapati in II, 23, 1.

Besides the gana of the human invokers, referred to above, the human gana is also mentioned in verse V, 79, 5, to Uṣas, VI, 56, 5 to Pūṣan and I, 117, 3 to the Ásvins.

(b) yācciddhī te ganā imé chadáyanti maghāttaye/(V, 79, 5, cd)

SĀYANA explains: he uṣah yat ye Kecana tava svabhūtāḥ purato vartamānāḥ ganāḥ samghabhūtāḥ dhanadānāya dhanavattvāya vā upa cchadayanti .....

GRIFFITH translated te ganāḥ by "these thy bands" and in the note explains/.....



explains it as "The congregation of worshippers."

GELDNER also interprets it as "diese (Sänger)chöre."

(c) imam ca no gavesanam sātaye sīsadhō gaṇam ārat pūṣannasi  
śrutah // (VI, 56, 5)

is explained by SĀYANA thus:

"he pūṣan asmākam lābhāya imam ca gaṇam maruṣya  
saṃgham gavāmesayitāram sādhaḥ / he pūṣan dūrādese  
'pi tvam prakhyāto bhavasi' //

GRIFFITH: "Lead on this company of ours, that longs for Kine,  
to win the spoil ..."

GELDNER: "und führe diese unsere Rinder begehrende. Schar  
richtig zum Gewinn ..."

Here the gaṇa is not of the worshipping or invoking people but  
of the cowseeking people. GELDNER considers such a gaṇa as  
'military' which may not necessarily be so.

(vi) - (a) ṛṣim narāvamhasah pāñcājanyam

rbīśād ātrim muncatho gaṇena // (I. 117. 3 ab)

which according to SĀYANA may be explained thus: he narau  
āśvinau pāñcājanyam ṛṣim pāparūpāt tuṣāgneḥ sakāśāt gaṇena  
indriyavargena putrapautrādigaṇena vā saha amocayatham. Here  
then gaṇena does not denote stotrṣamūhena, but according to  
SĀYANA putrapautrādigaṇena. V. MĀDHAVA explains gaṇena as  
saputrapautram sendriyam vā.

GRIFFITH: "Ye freed the sage Atri, whom the five tribes hon-  
oured, from the strait pit, ye Heroes, with his people.

GELDNER: "Den unter den fünf Stämmen bekannten Ṛṣi Atri befreit  
ihr Herren aus Drangsal, mit seinem Gefolge aus dem glühenden Ofen, ..."

In I, 116, 8, atrim is qualified by sarvaganaṃ which is similar to ganena, and which is discussed later.

This example is important for our study because this seems to have shown a development of the meaning of gana from "retinue" to "the group of human beings, socially connected."

(vii) - (a) In V., 44, 12 (cd)

ubhā sā vārā pratyeti bhāti ca

yad īm gaṇam bhajate suprayāvabhiḥ //

the Maruts are addressed and it is said about the sage Sadāpr̥ṇa and others ("eteṣāṃ pañcānāṃ parasparāpekṣayā pratyekamekavacanam")

(SĀYANA) - in the words of GRIFFITH:

"He gains his wish in both the worlds and brightly

shines - when he adores the host ('of gods' - in the footnote) with well advancing steeds." ('with well-arranged hymns,' according to SĀYANA)

Here gaṇam or 'the host' does not have the sense of 'followers,' but only the sense of 'a group of beings,' - here, 'a group of gods'; according to V. MĀDHAVA "indrādīnāṃ gaṇam". GELDNER

interprets gana differently. He translates - "... Beiden Wünschen kommt er entgegen und strahlt, so bald er einer Schar mit guten Anführern(2)teilhaft wird." (In the Note GELDNER

remarks "ganam entsprechend entweder der kreis der verbündeten Fürsten (vrjanam in 1) oder die Schar der Kooperierenden Priester.")

Regarding vrjana in 1, however, SĀYANA remarks "valanāmaṭṭha balavati vartate" and GRIFFITH understands it as "Agni, the prince" and GELDNER also translates it into "einen Opferbund."

GELDNER's suggestion to understand gana here as "the circle of allied sovereigns" is too much of an assumption. The sense of 'the troop of co-operating priests' is also not very likely here. This hymn has the first two verses with regard to Indra, the third is Āgneyā, the fourth may be Āgneyā or Saurī, the fifth is also Āgneyā, the sixth Vaiśvadevī, the seventh Saurī, the eighth may be Āgneyā or Saurī, the ninth and tenth Saurī, eleventh has the Madadevatā - hence in the twelfth verse im ganam most probably denotes "this host of the gods mentioned in the preceding verses."

GRASSMANN gives the meaning "der Menschen" here but with bhajate the Accusative ganam is not likely to be "men."

(b) IV. 35. 3 verse is addressed to the Rbhus. The second line is:

āthaita vājā amṛtasya pānthām

ganam devānām rbhavaḥ suhastāḥ

According to SĀYANA, the Rbhus are requested to go to the way of amṛta, to the gana of the devas. V. MĀDHAVA gives more or less the same meaning. In any case, with the explicit mention of devānām, there is little room for doubt about what the gana comprises here. GRIFFITH, however, translates ganam devānām by "to the Gods' assembly" which meaning is unusual for gana and GELDNER translates it by "unter das Grefolge der Götter." But here ~~also~~ the sense of 'follower' is not probably present, only the collective sense of it is expressed. GRASSMANN cites only this example for his fourth category of meaning, viz. der Götter überhaupt.

(viii) - (a) gana in IX, 32, 3 apparently denotes a collection of 'swans':

ādīm hamso yathā ganam visvasyāvīvasanmatim/ātyo nā gobhir aiyate//

SĀYANA explains: "ayam somah hamso yathā ganam visvasya janasaṃgham svagati-viśeṣeṇa svanena vā pravīṣati tadvat-sarvasya stotrjanasya - stutim buddhim vā - vāsam nayati / sa ca somah asva iva gavyair udakair vā snigdhīkriyate." //

GRIFFITH translates: "Now like a swan he maketh all the company sing each his hymn. He like a steed is bathed in milk."

GELDNER: "Dann hat er wie eine Gans ihre Schar, so eines jeden Gebet laut werden lassen. Es wird mit Milch (Kühen) wie ein Rennpferd gesalbt (preisgekrönt)"

The difference of interpretations rests mainly on the varied meanings of avīvasat.

<sup>1</sup>

BHAVE thinks that GELDNER apparently took the word avīvasat as causal of rt. vās 'to bellow' which ought to give the form avavāsanta or avāvasanta. BHAVE explains the word as third person singular causal from root vas 'to long for' and he translates:

"Afterwards, like the Swan the group, (he, the Soma,) attracts the prayer of all ...."

HILLEBRANDT also translates it by "liess ... ertönen".

LUDWIG remarks "wohl der wachhaltende Vogel, der bei

herannahender Gefahr ein Geschrei erhebt, das von dem ganzen Schwarm beantwortet wird."

SĀYANA's explanation of "avīvasat" as "vāsam nayati" can, however, be justified by the derivation given by BHAVE - the causation being used to make it a denominative verb. SĀYANA's explanation/.....



explanation of gaṇam as janasamgham is not convincing. It can be easily explained as hamsasamgham and even then the swan enters its group, evidently not by its special gait, but by its sound. Hence, following SĀYANA we can explain the line thus: 'āt'apica hamsa 'yathā' 'gaṇam' hamsagaṇam svanena (it is better than svagati-visesena) vasam nayati tadvat 'im' ayam somah visvasya stotrjanasya matim stutim buddhim vā avīvaśat vasam nayati. Except SĀYANA all the interpreters are unanimous that gaṇa here refers to "the bevy of swans!"

(b) VIII, 46, 31 again refers to the gaṇa of uṣtras ādha yaccārathe gaṇe śatām uṣtrā ācikradat / ādha śvitneṣu vimśatim śatā //

SĀYANA: atha yadā cāryamāṇe vanāya preryamāṇa ityarthap/ tādrśe gaṇe uṣtrasamghe uṣtrāṇām śatam asmabhyam pradānāyājuhāva / apicāsmadartham eva śveta-varṇeṣu goyūtheṣu vimśatimca śatanica athavā śatāṇām vimśatimacikradat. /

GRIFFITH: "And in the grazing herd he made a hundred camels bleat for me And twenty hundred mid the white."

(Footnote: herds of cows.)

GELDNER: "Und als in der Karawane hundert Kamele brüllten da (empfindlich) bei den Śvitna's Zwanzig Hunderte."

SĀYANA's uṣtrasamgha agrees with GRASSMAN's "Schaar oder Heerde der Gänse oder Büffel." GRIFFITH's "grazing herd" or GELDNER's "Karawane" unnecessarily assumes too much. In the last two verses, the mention is made of a number of 'bulls' (vr̥ṣan), and 'oxen' (vadhri)

(ix) - (a) In X, 34, 12 (ab),

yó vah senānī mahatō gaṇāsya rājā vrātasya prathamō babhūva /  
the dices are addressed, their gaṇas and vrātas are mentioned,  
one who is the senānī of the gaṇa, the rājan of the vrāta.

SĀYANA explains: "he akṣāh vah yuṣmākaṁ mahatō gaṇāsya saṁghāsya

yah akṣāh senānīḥ netā babhūva bhavati vrātasya ca  
rājā īśvaraḥ prathamah mukhyo babhūva tasmai akṣāya  
kṛṇomi ahaṁjalim karomi." /

GRIFFITH: "To the great captain of your mighty army, who hath  
become the host's imperial leader ..."

GELDNER: "Wer der Heer führer eurer grossen Truppe der Oberste  
König des Heer haufens geworden ist, ...."

MACDONELL ('Vedic Reader'): "To him who is the general of your  
great throng as King, has become the first of your  
host, (I stretch forth my ten fingers)....."

The interpreters differ in construing, but it is clear that

senānī is connected with gaṇāsya whereby gaṇa is a military band  
or army. It is allegorical and the imagery is drawn from that  
gaṇa which has military function. The Maruts who are often  
called making a gaṇa of Indra, helping him in his military  
affairs might have suggested the metaphor.

(b) In X, 103, 3 (ab) also gaṇa appears to have the sense of a  
'military band' or 'army':

Sā īsu-hastaiḥ sā niṣaṅgibhir vaśī  
samsraṣṭā sā yūḍha īndro gaṇéna /

SĀYANA explains that here the capability of Indra as the con-  
queror/.....

conqueror in battles is shown. Indra is called vaśī because the Maruts and others are under his control. With the iṣuhas and niṣāṅgins who are his bhaṭas, as explained by SĀYANA, he in the battle or for the battle comes upon the enemy-army (sa ca indrah yudhyamānaḥsan, athavā yuddhaheṭoḥ gaṇena satruśaṅghena saha samsr̥stah ekībyavanaśīlah ...)

GRIFFITH: "He rules with those who carry shafts and quivers, Indra who with his band brings hosts together ..."

GELDNER: "Er ist mit seinen Pfeilträgern, er mit den Köcherge-  
:wappneten, er mit seinem Gefolge der Gebieter  
Indra, der in Kämpfe verwickelt, ....."

GELDNER takes the gaṇa as the followers of Indra i.e. the military band of his side, not of the enemy's side, as explained by SĀYANA. It is, however, certain that gaṇa is specialised here to the sense of "the military troop" - either of one's own side or of the other.

- (x) In X, 34,12, we have seen gaṇa side by side with vrāta and the senānī of the great gaṇa with the rājan of the vrāta. SĀYANA explains there "gaṇa-vrātayor alpo bhedaḥ," but we do not have sufficient evidence to note the nature of the distinction. We have already discussed how ZIMMER draws an inference from V, 53, 11 which contains sardha, vrāta, gaṇa, which has been criticised in 'Vedic Index' (ii, 342).

- (a) V, 53, 11 runs thus:

sārdham-sārdham va esām vrātam-vrātam

SĀYANA/.....

words cannot be discriminated.

SĀYANA explains sardham sardham as tattadvalam i.e. 'the respective forces.' Vrāta he explains as avivakṣitaganah and ganam ganam as taṁtaṁ sapta-sapta-samudāyātmakam. But SĀYANA does not quote any authority for his explanation and has probably done it fancifully. GRIFFITH's rendering is also fanciful, sardha, the troop, vrāta the band and gana, the company, and their distinction is not also clear. GELDNER translates the verse into: *Jeden Heerhaufen von euch, jedes Geschwader, jeden Trupp wollen wir mit Lobpreisungen, mit (frommen) Gedanken begleiten.* But he also does not explain, why sardha is "Heerhauf", vrāta "Geschwader" and gana "Trupp." HILLEBRANDT translates the words into "Heere", "Rotten", "Züge" respectively. All of them probably have in mind ZIMMER's conclusion. <sup>1</sup>

(b) In III, 26, 6 (ab) in the Agni-hymn, mention is made of the Maruts and the words vrātam-vrātam and ganam ganam:

vrātam vrātam ganam ganam susastibhir  
agnēr bhāmam marūtām ōja imahe /

SĀYANA explains vrātam vrātam as pratisamūham and ganam ganam as mahati samūhe. These are connected with marutām oja imahe, i.e. tādrśam mārutam tejo yācāmahe. V. MĀDHAVA explains vrāta as 'a collection of wealth of various kinds' and gana as 'that of one kind.'

GRIFFITH: "We, band on band, and troop following troop entreat, with fair lands Agni's splendour and the Maruts' might."

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<sup>1</sup> In the preceding verse, V, 53, 10 - the sardha of the chariots of the Maruts, and the bright gana of the Maruts are mentioned. But from that too, the semantic nature of the words cannot be discriminated.



In the next line the Maruts seem to have come with their spotted horses to the sacrificial assembly in honour of Agni.

GELDNER translates vrāta by "Schar" and "gana" by "Rotte."

It is only possible to say that gana in these instances denote 'a band of beings,' here the 'band' is of the Maruts' and the later use of the Maruts' ganas, 'seven' in number, of 'seven' in each group might have had its basis at the time of the early RV. (Bks. III and V) as ganamganam presupposes gana in plural.

(xi) Sarvagana is a Bahuvrīhi compound and occurs in two passages:

I, 116, 8 (cd) and V, 51, 12. however, denote brhaspati with

(a) rbīṣe ātrim asvināvanītam grasas, who are his retinue.

The other unninyathuh sarvagana svastī is and previously

SĀYANA explains: "he asvinau apagataparakāse pīdā-vantragrhe

avanītam avānmukhatayā asuraiḥ prāpitam atrim sarvagana

sarveṣāṃ indriyānāṃ putrādīnāṃ vā ganopetam - svastī avināśo

yathā bhavati tathā tasmād grhād udgamayya yuvāṃ svagrham

prāpitavantau.

V. MĀDHAVA explains unninyathuh sarva-gana svastī as

unninyathuh avikalasarvendriyaganam avināśena.

These explanations accord with that of I, 117, 3 where

Atri is said released with his gana (ganena) i.e. either with

all his indriyas (organs) (intact) or putra-pautrādi. SĀYANA

also gives an explanation following YĀSKA which <sup>is</sup> metaphorical.

Sarvagana is according to GRIFFITH "with all his people" and

according to GELDNER "mit ganzem Gefolge." We cannot be sure

if/...

if the sense of gaṇa as denoting the group of people of one's race, such as the sons, the grandsons etc., is already established during this period as a term of social group.

(b) The other instance of sarvaganaṃ does not denote the same sense as it occurs in V, 51, 12 (cd):

br̥haspatim s̥arvaganaṃ svastaye

svastaya ādityāso bhavantu nah

SĀYANA explains: '... sarvadevaganopetam br̥haspatim br̥hatah karmano mantrasya pālayitāram svastaye stumah / aditeh putrāḥ sarve devā aruṇādayo dvādaśa vā / nah asmākaṃ svastaye bhavantu /

But sarvaganaṃ br̥haspatim may, however, denote Br̥haspati with all his gaṇa viz. that of the Āṅgīrasas, who are his retinue.

The other gods are mentioned as ādityāsaḥ and previously mentioned by names.

(xii) Sumadganah is also a Bahuvrīhi compound occurring in verse II. 36, 3 (cd)

athā mandasva jujusāno andhasas

tvāstar devēbhir jānīhiḥ sumadganah //

(" - - And Tvashtar, well-content be joyful in the juice with Gods and goddesses in gladsome company" - GRIFFITH.)

According to SĀYANA, "he tvāstar anyair devaiḥ devapatnībhiḥ sā śobhanaganas tvam somalakṣanasyānnasya sevamānah mandasva trpto bhava.

By MAHĪDHARA sumadganah is explained as sumadah santuṣṭa gaṇā devāḥ striganāśca yasya sa sumadganah as he explains this verse occurring/.....

8. occurring in VS. XXVI, 24.

Tvaṣṭr is associated with devas and their wives in VI, 50, 13 (AU)

(cd) eleven occurrences, of which one is just the repetition of

tvāṣṭā devebhir jānibhiḥ sajoṣā instances there is

one use of dyaur devébhiḥ prthivi samudraih. (Pai) there are

nearly or in X, 64, 10 (ab) six of which agree with the

occurrences in AV. utā mātā brhaddivā sṛnotu nas - in Sāu being repeated

in Pai also). Four tvāṣṭā devébhir jānibhiḥ pitā vācaḥ / are repeated

(xiii) ganya in III, 7, 5

divorūcaḥ surūco rōcamāna Books - are only repeated.

In AV. (Pai) Besides ilā yeṣām ganya māhinā gīḥ ganavardhan.

is explained in 'SW' as ganabhavaḥ. and old compounds ganapati

But other interpreters including LUDWIG, GELDNER etc. and

VMĀDHAVA that the word is derived from a verb meaning " to

count!" SĀYANA explains ganya as ganānēyā māhinā mahatīḥ gīḥ

(i) In AV. stutirūpāvōk. In any case it seems to have no semantic con-

(a) AV: nection with the gana of our study. <sup>1</sup> first line

mārasāḥ itaḥ devāḥ sūryaḥ sarutāṃganāḥ

which is repeated, RV. I, 137, 5 was been explained by SĀYANA quite

differently from how he explained the RV. verse. In RV. the protection

was sought for all including the invoker (visvāmītra) and agan in the

second line was referred to as "our bodies etc." But here SĀYANA

explains that it is desired that "this child" be protected by Indra

and other gods with the ganās of the Maruts, or by Agni and other gods

dominating over the indriyas by giving skill in the different indriya-

(tatted-/.....

<sup>1</sup> AV. (PAI) reads maruto ganāḥ for marutām ganāḥ

## B. Gana in AV.

In the AV. we have only a few new instances of gana. In AV. (ŚAU) there are eleven occurrences, of which one is just the repetition of another on another occasion. Besides, the single instances there is one use of mahāgana, and another of vidagana. In AV. (Pai) there are nearly a score of occurrences of gana, six of which agree with the occurrences in AV. (ŚAU), (the repeated instance in Śau being repeated in Pai also). Four out of the ten instances of AV. (Śau) are repeated RV. instances, three of the later Books of the RV. (two from Book X, one from Book I) and only one of the earlier one (Book IV.) In AV. (Pai) the three RV. instances of the later Books - are only repeated. In AV. (Pai) besides some new compounds such as ganavardhana, ganābhivardhana, ganapravardhana, apigana, and old compounds ganapati and sagana, there are some four singular and six plural single forms of gana. In AV. (Śau) on the other hand there are two singular and six plural single forms of gana.

(i) In AV. also there are many references to the gana of the Maruts.

(a) AV. (Śau) IV, 13, 4 and (Pai) V, 18, 5,<sup>1</sup> first line

trāyantām imām devās trāyantām marutamganāh

which is repeated, RV. X, 137, 5, has been explained by SĀYANA quite differently from how he explained the RV. verse. In RV. the protection was sought for all including the invoker (visvāmitra) and ayam in the second line was referred to as "our bodies etc." But here SĀYANA explains that it is desired that "this child" be protected by Indra and other gods with the ganas of the Maruts, or by Agni and other gods dominating over the indriyas by giving skill in the different indriya-s (tattad-/.....

SĀYANA adds a note "as if hung in slings."

<sup>1</sup> AV. (PAI) reads maruto ganaih for marutam ganāh



(tattad-indriya-pāṭava-pradānena.) He further explains: "... tathā  
"marutām" ekonapañcāsat-samjñākānām ityādi-srutyantara-prasiddha-  
samjñākānām ye gaṇāḥ sapta-samkhyākāḥ santi te' pi imam trāyantām,  
yadvā marutām prāṇāpāna-vyānādīnām dehe avasthitānām gaṇāḥ ....."

As suggested by SĀYANA if it is the group of the prāṇavāyu-s, a further explanation is required for the use of plural for singular. In RV. the word gaṇa was used in singular but in AV. (Śau & Pai) it is plural, and the change seems to be significant and probably the idea of the seven gaṇa-s of the Maruts of seven in each gaṇa is later than the RV. (which may be a reason for the proportionately large number of singular use of gaṇa in RV.)

(b) A new instance in AV. (Śau) XIII, 4, 8

tāsyaiṣa māruto gaṇāḥ sā eti śikyākṛtaḥ

(His is the troop of Maruts, he goes sling made<sup>1</sup>- WHITNEY) occurs in a hymn, the deity of which is Rohita. The names of several gods, including Mahendra, are cited in this hymn and GRIFFITH translates: "His are these banded Maruts: they move gathered close like porter's thongs." Both LANMAN and GRIFFITH refer to the emendation made by M. HENRY for śikyākṛtaḥ which LANMAN calls "venturesome and unacceptable."

(ii) (a) Gaṇa without explicit mention of the Maruts may refer to the band of the Maruts when Indra's gaṇa is mentioned as in AV. (Śau) XX, 40, 2 and XX, 70, 4, (Pai) V, 18, 5 and VI, 17, 10

anavadyair aśhidyubhir makhāḥ sāhasvad arcati

gaṇair indrasya kāmyaiḥ //

which is RV. verse I, 6, 8 repeated.

<sup>1</sup> LANMAN adds a note "as if hung in slings."

(b) AV. (Śau) XIX, 13, 4, (Pai) VII, 4, 4 (first line)

sá íśuhastaiḥ sa nisāṅgibhir vaśí  
sāmsraṣṭā sá yudha índro gaṇéna /

which is also RV. verse X, 103, 3 repeated.

(c) In AV. (Śau) XX, 38, 5 (first line)

sá sustúbhā sá rkvatā gaṇéna  
balám ruroja phatigám rávena /

which is again RV. IV, 50, 5 repeated and also found in the

different versions of the YV., the deity of the nymn being

Brhaspati, the Angirases seem to have been referred to by gaṇa.

(iii) gaṇa referring to all sorts of groups of men and animal are found in AV. (Pai) XIX, 54, 3 - 5

gaṇapate gaṇapatim mā kr̥ṇu tasmān mā vayam (?) //  
apigānā apiganam mā kr̥ṇu tasmān mā chitsi //  
Sagana saganam mā kr̥ṇu tasmān mā nasam //

and also in AV. (Pai) XIX 54, 6 - 8

gaṇavardhana gaṇam me vardhaya /  
gavām asvānām puruṣānām brahmacāriṇam bhūtyā annādyasya //  
gaṇābhivardhana gaṇam me abhivardhaya /  
gavām .... etc.  
gaṇapravardhaya gaṇam me pravardhaya / gavām etc.

The gaṇa of the Maruts is also mentioned as the gods among them.

The second verse,

rāsmibhir nābha ābhrtam mahendraēty āvṛtaḥ /

("To misty cloud filled with his rays Mahendra goes encompassed round.") is repeated after the present verse shows that Rohita is/.....

is compared to Mahendra so that Maruts are called his retinue.

(c) AV. (Śau) IV, 15, 4, (Pai) V, 7, 4 (first line)

gaṇāstvōpa gāyantu mārutāḥ

parjanya ghosino prthak

("Apart Parjanya! let the troops of Maruts, roaring, swell the song .....") - GRIFFITH.)

("Let the troops of Maruts sing unto thee, O Parjanya noisy here and there;" - WHITNEY.)

(d) AV. (Śau) XIX, 45, 10, (Pai) XV, 4, 10

maruto mā gaṇair avantu prāṇāpānāyāyuse varcase /

Ojase tejase svastaye suprabhūṭaye svāhā //

("May the Maruts protect me with their troops for inspiration and expiration, for strength for energy, for vigour, for weal and prosperity, All Hail.")

This is a curative and protective charm, where the Maruts' functions are mentioned with regard to men.

(e) AV. (Pai) VI, 17, 10 (the first line)

ā yantu maruto gaṇai(s) stutā dadhatu norayim /

.....marudbhir agnā ā gahi /

(Let the Maruts by their gaṇas (ganawise) be praised and let them place wealth to us, O Agni do you come with the Maruts.)

(iv) AV. (Śau) XIX, 22, 16 - 18

gaṇebhyaḥ svāhā /

mahāgaṇebhyaḥ svāhā /

sarvebhyo 'ngirōbhyo vidagaṇebhyaḥ svāhā /

(To the Gaṇas, hail.

To/.....

To the great Ganas, hail.

To all the Vidagānas ("gana-knowing (?) - WHITNEY) Āṅgirasas, hail)

The hymn is in prose, only one stanza appears to be metrical.

Homage appears to be paid to the various portions of AV., the

Ṛsis and Brahma. The last instance is typical of AV.

RENOU says about the word gana in AV.

"Le mot gana pris isolément désigne les parties

constitutives du parvāya." (Etudes Védiques et

Pāṇineenes (p.72 fn.) )

and it is elaborately said in WHITNEY's translation of the AV.

with notes of LANMAN (HOS, VIII, p.427.)

"Each parvāya has its own summing up at the end:

if a numbered division corresponding to ṛc is

composed of more than one divided portion, it is

called a gana, and its subdivisions avasāna-rcas,

or gānāvasāna-rcas."

In the Dictionary of the Rituals RENOU gives the following

meaning to Gana:

"groupe de formulas, ainsi les 7 groupes

accompagnat l'oblation des gateaux aux Marut

Āp. XVII, 16, 16 (cayana) certains groupes sort

aranye 'nuvākya', q. u d'autres grāmye 'nuvākya'."

verse is repeated:

Indravāyā bhāspatya mitrānya viśvāya bhāspā /

Ādityāya sūryāya gānāya //

MAHIDHARA explains it by bringing in a verb (anā) ākravāmi (I

invoke them.) In the RV. verse, Ādityā explains it with agno

ṛkai /.....



C. Gana in YV.:

(i) In the different versions of YV. also, gana seems to be mostly used with reference to the host of the Maruts.

(a) In Vs. Mā XVIII, 45 - Kā XX, 2, 8 as also in TS. IV, 7, 12, 3; MS II, 12, 3 and III, 4, 3; Kap.S. XXIX, 3 and KS. XVIII, 14.

māruto 'si marutām ganāh

GRIFFITH: "Thou art the Maruts' own (the stormy region of midair), the band of Maruts,....."

MAHIDHARA explains: "mārutaḥ as marutām vātānām ayam marutām  
sukrajyotiḥ prabhṛtīnām ganāh tannivāsāt  
antarikṣaloko vai māruta iti."

SĀYANA in TS. explains: "yo 'yam bahūnām 'marutām' (vāyuviseṣānām  
ganāh mārutasabdavācyah tadrūpastvam asi."

KEITH: "Thou art of the Maruts, the horde of the Maruts"  
with notes that here "in its three parts the three  
Vāta oblations" accompanied by the supplementary  
Mantras for the Vājaprasa-vīya Homa (TS.I, 7, 10)

GRIFFITH also noted against this verse in VS. "He offers three  
Wind Libations, having caught the wind in his hollowed  
hands from outside the altar."

(b) In VS. Mā XXXIII, 45 - Kā XXXII. 4, 2, the RV. I, 14, 3  
verse is repeated:

indravāyū brhaspatim mitrāgnim pūśanam bhāgam /  
ādityān mārutaṁ ganam //

MAHIDHARA explains it by bringing in a verb (enān) āhvayāmi (I  
invoke them.) In the RV. verse, SĀYANA explains it with agne  
yaksi /.....

yakṣi taken from verse 1, but in IV. the verse is quoted singly, so it has to be explained in another way.

In KS XXXIV, 16 "... prayājeṣu yaddevatyas somas taddevatyah  
paśur vaiśvadeva unniya-māna aindrāgna unnīto rudro hūyamāno  
vagdhūto māruto gaṇo 'bhyāvṛtto mitrah pratikhyāta indra āsanno  
bhakṣo bhakṣa-mānas sakḥā bhakṣitah", where among the All-gods with the mention of Mitra, Indra, Agni, Rudra, Māruta gaṇa is mentioned.

That the Maruts lived in bands is found in TS. IV, 3, 13, 4 -  
"marutah urukṣayāḥ saganā mānuseṣu ....."

In MS., IV, 4, 5 ".....māruta eva gaṇo bhūtvojjayati,  
rājanyam jināty atyantam evākramīt."

- (ii) That the gaṇa of the Maruts was the retinue of Indra is said in MS. XIV, 14, 13:

indro haviṣmānt sagāno marudbhiḥ

and in MS. I, 3, 23 and TS. I, 4, 42, 1:

sajoṣā indra sagāno marudbhiḥ somam piba.

("In unison and in fellowship with the Maruts, Indra drunk the Soma ....." - KEITH)

Agni is also called sagana as we find in RV., -

yāste śivāstanvo jātavedo yā antarikṣedivi yāḥ

orthivyām tābhiḥ sambhūya saganah sajoṣā

hiraṇyayonir vaha havyam agne in KS VII, 15 and Kap. S VI, 2

- (iii) Seven appears to be the number of the Maruts in one gaṇa.

(a) In TS. V, 4, 7, 7 "maruto vai devānām viśo deva-viśenairvāsmāi  
manusyaviśam ava rundhe sapta bhavanti saptagaṇā vaimaruto,  
saptagaṇā/.....

saptagaṇā vaimaruto, gaṇāśa eva viśam ava rundhe gaṇenagaṇam  
anudrutya juhōti viśamevāśmai anuvartmānaṁ Karoti // "

(..."The Maruts are in seven troops; verily in troops he wins  
the people for him; running over troop by troop he offers;  
verily he makes the people obedient to him." - KEITH)

(b) "...Saptagaṇa vai maruto, gaṇāśa evāśmai sajātān avarundhe ..."  
(TS. II, 2, 5, 7, TS II, 2, 11, 1 )

(c) Sapta bhavanti saptagaṇā vai maruto gaṇāśa eva viśam  
avagacchati. (TS II, 3, 1, 5)

(d) Sapta Kapālā bhavanti, sapta sapta mārutā gaṇās tasmāt  
saptakapālā, gaṇena gaṇena juhōti, gaṇāśa eva marutaḥ prīṇāti,  
yo 'raṇye 'nuvākyo gaṇas tanmadhyats juhuyāt, kṣatram vā eṣa  
marutām viditare viśo vā etat kṣatram madhyameṣtam Karoti.

(MS. III, 3, 10)

(The classes of the Maruts are seven, seven are the potsherds,  
he offers by one class after another. The maruts are pleased  
(if offered) by classes only, which class is to be recited as  
Anuvākya in aranya is to be offered in the middle. This class  
of the Maruts is Kṣatra, the others are viś. The Kṣatra will  
make the viśes to be sacrificed in the middle. - KEITH)

(e) Similar is a passage in KS XXI, 10 "... Saptadhā gaṇā  
gaṇena gaṇam anudrutya juhōti gaṇāśa eva marutastarpayati /  
yo 'raṇye' nuvākyo gaṇastena madhye juhōti ....."

In all these instances we find that the Maruts are in  
seven bands, with seven in each band.

(iv) In KS. XI, 1 ... ekavimsatirvaimārutā gaṇā yad ekavimsatir  
nirbādhaḥ .....

These twenty-one ganās are, however, the multiple of seven.

- (v) In TS I, 4, 11, 1 trimsattrayaśca ganino rujanto divam rudrāḥ  
prthivīṇca sacanta.

(KEITH: "Three and thirty in troops the Rudras

Frequent the sky and earth the destructive ones)

In TS. I, 4, 10, 1 are enumerated eleven gods in the earth,  
eleven in the sky and eleven in the waters. All together they  
are thirty three. They are called Rudras. In RV the Maruts  
are sometimes mentioned as Rudras or sons of Rudras, we can not  
identify these Rudras as Maruts because the ganās of the latter  
are either seven or a multiple of seven, not eleven.

- (vi) (a) pratūrvan néhyavakrāmānāsastī rudrāsya gānapatyān  
(gānapatyam in VS.) (gānapatye in KS.) mayobhūrīhi (VS. Mā XI, 15

- Kā. XII, 2, 14) (TS. IV, 1, 2, 2; MS. II, 7, 2; KS XVI, 1)  
MAHIDHARA explains gānapatyam as the gānapatitva of the ganās.

SĀYANA explains it as "pasūsamūha patitvam."

GRIFFITH (VS): "Come. speeding on and trampling imprecations,  
come gladdening to the chieftainship of Rudra." (Footnote -  
Rudra: as Pasupati, lord of Beasts.)

KEITH (TS): "Hastening come hither, trampling the enemy / Come  
with wondrous skill from the leadership of Rudra."

(b) In TS V, 1, 2, 3 "vajryāsvaḥ pratūrvan néhya vakrāmān  
āsastīrityāha vajrenaivā pāpmānam bhrātrvyam āva Krāmati  
rudrāsya gānapatyādityāha raudrā vai pasāvo rudrādeva / pasūn  
niryācyātmane Karma Kurute ..."

KEITH/.....



KEITH (TS): "... the steed has a thunderbolt hastening come hither, trampling the enemy' he says; verily he tramples with the thunderbolt on the evil foe; from the lordship of Rudra' he says; cattle are connected with Rudra; verily having begged from Rudra cattle he acts for his own interest."

(c) In KS XIX, 2 and Kap S XXIX, 3 the passage is very similar "vajryasvāḥ .... avakrāmati rudrasya gaṇapatye mayobhūrheti raudrā vai paśavo rudrameva paśūn niryācya ..."

(d) In MS III, 1, 3 with certain additions and alterations of the words in TS V, 1, 2, 3:

"... yadāha pratūrvan ... asastiriti vajrena vā etad asastīr arātīyantam avakrāmati raudrā vai paśavo 'gnīrudro yad rudrāt paśūn aniryācyāgnim cinvīta ... yadāha rudrasya gaṇapatyan ni ayobhūrehīti ..."

Thus Rudra as the gaṇapati is the protector of the cattle. i.e. paśugaṇapati; and thus gaṇa here stands for 'the class of lower animals.'

(vii) Brhaspati also is called sagaṇa. The gaṇa or retinue of Brhaspati might be the Āgirases, as noticed in RV.

(a) Thus, in MS IV, 12, 1 it is said

brhaspatim havāmahe visvataḥ sāgaṇam vayam /  
upā no yajñam ā gamat /

(b) In MS II, 2, 3

tasya bārhaspatye gaṇavatī yājyānuvākye syātām  
yō bahupustāstasya grhāt Kṣtram āhareyuh .....  
brhaspatir gaṇī svām vā etad devatām bhūyiṣṭham  
arpayatī sajātairenam gaṇinam Karoti.

(d) In TS II, 3, 3, 5 .... brahmanaspatimeva .... ganavati  
yājyānuvākye bhavataḥ sajātirevainaṁ ganavantam Karoti.

In all these instances recourse is taken to Brhaspati or Brahmanaspati and by uttering "troop" in the Yajojā and Anuvākya he makes him possess troops of his fellows. Here the application of the Mantras having gana in it is supposed to hold a command over the gana (ganin or ganavant)

(viii) In VS. XXXII, 14, devaganāḥ is found in yām medhām devaganāḥ  
pitarāscopāsate / tāyā māmadyā medhayāgne medhāvinam kuru svāhā.

The verse is repeated in RV. Khila IV, 8, 9 without "svāhā".

In AV. VI, 108, 4 a similar verse is obtained but without

devaganāḥ:

yām ṛsayo bhūtakṛto medhām medhāvino viduḥ /  
tāyā māmadyā medhayāgne medhāvinam Kṛṇu

The distinction is notable. To Agni is prayed for bestowing a talent in both the verses but in AV. instead of devaganāḥ, the ṛsis are mentioned to have known that talent, but in the Yr. and Khila verse the gods who are in gana or band and the manes adore this talent which is prayed for. By devaganāḥ apparently not all the gods are meant because that would be denoted by devāḥ only.

(ix) The horse of the Aśvamedha sacrifice is addressed in VS. (Mā XXIII, 19, Kā XXV, 5, 2), MS III, 12, 20

ganānām tvā ganāpatim havāmahe priyānām  
tvā priyāpatim havāmahe nidhīnām tvā  
nidhipātim havāmahe vaso mama /

(In the KS and Kap S. gana invoke the loved one's lord. Thee, lord of treasures, we Invoke, My precious wealth."

MAHĪDHARA explains: ganānām madhye gaṇapatiṃ gaṇarūpena pālakam that it refers to ... etc.

(b) In KS XLIV, 1 also the horse is addressed similarly. The reason of calling the horse ganānām gaṇapati however is not clear.

(c) In TS II, 3, 14, 3 and KS X, 13, Brahmanaspati is addressed as ganānām gaṇapati, gana being that of the Āngirases, or the sacrificing priests, or of all gods.

(xi) In Vs., Mā XVII, 83 = Kā XII, 7, 4; TS IV, 5, 6; MS II, 8, 6;

(x) The Śatarudriya litany has:

namo gaṇebhyaḥ gaṇapatibhyaśca vo namaḥ

which is found in VS. Mā XVI, 25 = Kā XVII, 3, 4; MS II, 9, 4; KS XVII, 13; TS IV, 5, 4, 1; Kap S. XXVII, 3.

MAHĪDHARA explains devānucarā bhūtaviśeṣā gaṇās tebhyo namaḥ // ganānām pālakā gaṇopatayastebhyo vo namaḥ // etc.

ROTH suggested the meaning of gana here to be "guild" which has been criticised in "Vedic Index" (ii, 342.)

Similar formulas of homage paid to various gods and natural and terrestrial objects are uttered as in VS. -Mā XXII, 30, = Kā XXIV, 17; MS III, 12, 11; Kap S. XLVIII, 8:

asave svāhā vasave svāhā bibhuvē svāhā (MS, vibhve)

(KS and Kap S. bibhave) vivasvate svāhā gaṇasriye svāhā gaṇapataye svāhā etc. ....

(In/..... "vo 'raṇya 'nuvāyo gaṇastam itarair gaṇair maharāt," and/.....

(In the different versions there are differences in the formulas. In KS and KapS. ganāsriye is mentioned but not ganapataye) ganāsriye is rendered by GRIFFITH as "to the trooping one." and ganapataye as "to the Troop's Lord!" VISVABANDHU suggests (S.V, Samhitā vol.) that it refers to the Maruts or Agni. In VS. Mā XXXII, 14 :

yām médhām devaganāḥ pitarāscopāsate /  
tayā māmadyā medhayāgne medhāvinam Kuru //

The verse is repeated in RV. Khila IV, 8, 9. In AV VI, 108, 4, the first line is different:

yām ṛsayobhūta kṛto medhām medhāvino viduh /

(xi) In Vs., Mā XVII, 83 = Kā XII, 7, 4; TS IV, 6, 5, 6; MS II, 6, 6; MS II, 11, 1 Kap S. XXVIII, 6; KS XVIII, 6:

rtajīcca satyajīcca senajic ca susēnās ca  
āntimitrās ca dūre' amitrāsca ganāḥ //

GRIFFITH: "Winner of Right, winner of Truth Host conquering, Lord of Goodly Host, whose Friends are Near at Hand, whose Banded Enemies are Far Away (He does not give the meaning of ganā.)

SĀYANA explains that rtajit etc. are the names of the third ganā of the Maruts. They are named with seven names in five ganās. The Maruts with various epithets are welcomed in the sacrifice. While they come to the sacrifice following Indra, their lord, the human subjects also come to the sacrificer according to SĀYANA.

(xii) About the performance to have a Kṣatra killed by a viś, it is said in KS XXI, 10 and MS. XXXIII, 10:

"yo 'ranye 'nuvākyo ganastam itarair ganair mohayet,"

and/.....

GRIFFITH and KEITH translate viśpan in KapS as mā viśpan by "go thirsty" and "suffer thirst" but ganān mā mā viśpan in TS. III, 2, 5, 2 is translated into "Do not distress by words" by KEITH. This meaning can however be given to the former instance also quite satisfactorily.



and for having a vis killed by a Kṣatra:

"yo 'ran̄ye 'nuvākyo gaṇastēnetarān gaṇān mohayet",

and for having a Kṣatra killed by a Kṣatra, it is suggested:

"yo' ran̄ye 'nuvākyo gaṇastēnāgnīsthāṃ rathavāhanam̄

vyāṅgayet (vicālayet in KS)

Here the gaṇa refers to the mantragana.

(xiii) The sacrificer utters to the Nighrābhya waters (i.e. the Vasatīvarī waters poured into the Hotr's beaker) thus according to TS. III, 1, 8, 1 and 2:

mano me tarpayata vācam me tarpayata prānān ...

cakṣur .... śrotram .... ātmānam .... prajāṃ ....

paśūn .... gaṇān .... sarvagānam mā tarpayata mā

gaṇā me mā vitṛsan ....

KEITH: "Delight my .... offsprings, .... my cattle, .... my troops, delight me with all my troops, delight me, may my troops not go thirsty."

VS, Mā VI, 31 = Kā. VI, 8, 2; Kap S. II, 17; KS III, 10, MS I, 3, 2 differ in detail but agree in substance with the above.

gaṇān parallelly said with paśūn, probably suggests the followers.

It is prayed for the delight of them, as it is prayed for the offsprings and the cattle. It is also prayed for that the sacrificer along with his followers may be delighted. It is said that his followers may not suffer thirst.<sup>1</sup> But sarvagānam and gaṇā me may also stand for all the bands, viz. the band of offsprings, of the cattle and of the followers. With the explicit mention of prajāṃ, however,/.....

<sup>1</sup> GRIFFITH and KEITH translate vitṛsan in gaṇā me mā vitṛsan by "go thirsty" and "suffer thirst" but gaṇān me mā vitṛsaḥ in TS. III, 2, 5, 2 is translated into "Do not distress my troops" by KEITH. This meaning can however be given to the former instance also quite satisfactorily.

however, gaṇa does not seem to denote the members of the family.

SĀYANA explains gaṇa here as manuṣya-saṃghāta and regarding mā vitṛṣan explains: mayā dravyadānena pūritā api santo vigatatṛṣṇā mā bhavantu.

Soma is addressed while Soma-juice is taken in TS III, 2, 5, 2:

hinva me gātrā harivo

ganān me mā vitṛṣah

("Impel my limbs, O thou with tawny steeds,

Do not distress my troops ..." - KEITH)

(11) (a) The IV instances of enumerating the seven groups of the

Maruts are often quoted in Ś Br. and T Br.

"sapta vai māruto gaṇah" Ś Br. V, 4, 3, 17.

"sapta sapta hi māruto gaṇastamāruto saptakarṣṇo

agadāso bhavati"; Ś Br. II, 5, 1, 13

"sapta sapta hi mārutā gaṇah" Ś Br. IX, 3, 1, 25.

"mārutaḥ sapta vai mārutaḥ / vṛṣṇa avāśat vṛṣṇa kalpayati"

T Br. I, 6, 2, 3.

(b) In T Br. III, II, 4, 2 it is said "māruto gaṇānāṃ patayaḥ /

māraḥ paśūnāṃ pataḥ / indraṇjasāmpata.

(c) The IV use of gaṇasah is repeated in Ś Br. XIV, 4, 2, 24:

"Sa vṛṣam asrijata vāny etani deva-ātāni vṛṣṇa ābhavante

vṛṣavo rudrā āditvā vṛṣavedayā māruta iti"

where gaṇa denotes band of gods such as Vṛṣas, Rudras, Ādityas,

Vṛṣavedas, Maruts.

### D. Gaṇa in the Brāhmaṇas

- (i) The RV. verse containing gaṇānām tvā gaṇapatiṃ havāmahe is very often referred to for uttering in the Pravargyas and in the function of bringing forward of Agni and Soma etc. in A Br. I, 21; Śam Br. VIII, 5; IX, 6; Ś Br XIII, 2, 8, 4

"gaṇānām .... iti brāhmaṇaspatyam" ABT, I, 21

"enam tad gaṇānām .... iti brāhmaṇaspatyā abhirūpā abhistauti" Śam Br. VIII, 5.

"pravatīm prapannāya .... gaṇānam .... astabhnād .... iti saṇnavatibhiḥ sannamanu - stautīti" Śam Br. IX, 6.

"gaṇānām .... iti tadāhuh" Ś Br XIII, 28, 4.

- (ii) (a) The YV instances of enumerating the seven groups of the Maruts are often quoted in Ś Br. and T Br.

"Sapta sapta vai māruto gaṇaḥ" Ś Br. V, 4, 3, 17.

"sapta sapta hi māruto gaṇastanmāruto saptakapālo puroḍāso bhavati"; Ś Br. II, 5, 1, 13

"Sapta sapta hi mārutā gaṇaḥ" Ś Br. IX, 3, 1, 25.

"Sapta gaṇā vai marutaḥ / gaṇāsa evāsmāi viśam kalpayati /" T Br. I, 6, 2, 3.

- (b) In T Br. III, 11, 4, 2 it is said "maruto gaṇānām patayah / rudrah paśunām pate / indraujasāmpate."

- (c) The YV use of gaṇasaḥ is repeated in Ś Br. XIV, 4, 2, 24:

"Sa viśam asṛjyata yāny etani devajātāni gaṇāsa ākhyāyante  
(c) "vasavo rudrā ādityā visvedevā maruta iti"

where gaṇa denotes band of gods such as Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, Visvederas, Maruts.

(d) In PV Br. XIX, 14, 1, it is said: marutstomākhyam kratum vidhatte / .... yadgaṇasāhstomāstena marutstomo gaṇaso hi marutah.

(e) In T Br. II, 8, 6, 4, it is said: devā acchā/brāhma-kṛtā gaṇena.

(iii) (a) That Indra is the lord of the gaṇas of Maruts is expressed in T Br. II, 4, 6, 12 marutvā asruganavānt sa jātavān /

(b) In T Br. III, 7, 9, 5 and 6, it is said:

esabrahmā ya rtvīyah / in dro nāma śrutogane

and

śruto gaṇa ātvā viśantu harivatpasāṅgirah /

which is a repetition of T Br. II, 4, 3, 10

(iv) Along with the gaṇa of the gods the gaṇa of Stomas is also conceived as already said.

(a) In PV Br. XXII, 15, 3 it is said:

"yadgaṇasāh stomā bahureva bhavati"

(b) In the same Brāhmaṇa XXIV, 15, 4 :

"yadgaṇasāh stomāḥ bahava eva bhavanti|saha trivṛtaḥ sahapāñcadasāḥ saha saptadasāḥ sahaikavimsāḥ

(c) In Gop. saviturvā etāḥ kakubhaḥ"

Thus the stomasamghas are praised as high places of Savitr Aditya.

(c) In Ś Br. VIII, 1, 4, 4:

"Yat pūrvesu gaṇeṣv ekaikam stomam ekaikam prṣṭham

(d) In Ś upadadhāty atha kasmādatra dvau stomau dve prṣṭhe upadadhātīti ....



gaṇa is used in the sense of the set of mantras and here laying down of one stoma and one pr̥stha in the first four sets, etc. is stated.

(d) In T Br. I, 7, 7, 3 it is said about the set of the mantras which is to be used as anuvākya:

yo' ran̐ye' nuvāk̐yo gaṇaḥ / taṁ madhyata upadadhāti

(v) Ś B X, 3, 1, 9 used chandasām gaṇam for the collection of the metres.

(vi) In Ś B XII, 8, 1, 22 "... Sarvagaṇam ity aṅgāni vai sarve gaṇā aṅgāny evātman dhatti," by gaṇa is signified the collection of the different limbs.

(vii) (a) gaṇa in the sense of the band of the human followers is, however, noticed as in the YV. utterances to the Nigrābhya waters, in Ś Br. III, 9, 4, 7:

"mano me tarpayata ... gaṇān me tarpayata gaṇā me mā vitrsanniti"

(b) In PV Br. XVIII, 7, 4 annavatyah gaṇavatyah paśumaty- :astr̥tīyasavane bhavanti bhūmānantābhiravarundhe.

(c) In Gop Br. II, 5, 8, also:

śukravatyō jyotiśmatyah prātaḥsavane bhavanti ....  
vājavatyō mādhyandine savane svargasya lokasya samastysi /  
annavatyō gaṇavatyah paśumatyas tr̥tīyasavane bhavanti  
bhūmānam tābhirāpnoti. /

(d) In Ś Br. XIV, 5, 1, 10 ....



F. Gana in the Kalpasūtras

- (i) (a) Bau ŚrS XIII, 26 quotes from RV. ganānām tvā ganapatim havāmahe and says thereafter sa ijjanenety etameva nirvaped. Hir GrS I, 6, 11 also refers to this mantra. Bau ŚrS XIII, 26 refers to ganavatī yājñānuvākye bhavataḥ meaning the mantra with gana in it.

(b) Saptabhir ganair in Āp ŚrS XVII, 16, 15 refers to the seven bands of the Maruts in

"īdr̥ñcānyādr̥ñceti saptabhir ganair āsīno hastena ganena ganam amidrutya mārutāñjuhōti."

(c) Like the formulae in the Sataradriya litany of YV. in Bau Ds II, 8, 9: "ambikāyai svāhā, haraye svāhā, ganebhyas svāhā ganapatibhyas svāhā ...." etc. gana may denote the "band" of gods and ganapati the leader of the band. Gana may also denote here the later meaning of "the group of some subdivine beings."

(d) Bau ŚrS XVII, 3 also repeats the T Br. III. 7, 9, 5 - 6 while it refers to:

"esa brahmā ya r̥tvīyah indro nāma śruto gane//

and

"....Śruto gana ā tvā visantu / harivarpasamgira iti ...."

Ap Śrs XIV, 2, 13 also quotes the same.

(e) Bau Śrs XVIII, 28 .. refers to Indra the leader of the Marut-ganas:

"... atha yatrāhendrāya marutvata iti śakrāya ganavata iti tatrāha ...."

(f) Āś ŚrS. II, 11, 8 .. also refers to Indra the leader of the Maruts:

"indrah sūrah prathamo viśvakarmā asruganavān sujātaiḥ"

(g) Āś ŚrS IV, 6, 3 also makes another reference:

"ganānām tvā prathasca yasyā 'paśyam tvety  
etasyādyayā yajamānam īksate dvitīyayā patnīm

(iv) tr̥tīyayā 'tmānam Kāradbhyo' trāśvinā vāmiti na vā ...  
abhiṣṭavanam /

(ii) "aranye anuvākyo ganah" is very often referred to in the Sutas.

(a) Bau ŚrS X, 53 states "ṛtaśca satyaścetyanudrutya yo' ran̄ye  
anuvākyo ganastamanudrutya juhōti / yo' ran̄ye 'ruvākyo ganas tam  
anudrutyedṛksāsa etadr̥ksāsa iti juhōtīdr̥ksāsa etadr̥ksāsa  
ityanudrutya mitāsasca sammitāsca nā iti juhōti .... tānabhito  
vaisvānaram paricinoti ganena ganam anudrutya juhōti ..."

(b) In Āp ŚrS.

"vyākhyātā ghorāstanvo 'ran̄ye 'nuvākyo gana uttarau  
cānuvākau / (XV, 19, 1)

"madhye 'ran̄ye 'nuvākyena ganena ganena juhōtītyeke"  
(XVII, 16, 16), and

"evam āditastrīohir ganair hutvāran̄ye 'nuvākyena  
juhuyāt / yathā pūrvairevam tribhiruttarair ganaiḥ /  
(XVII, 17, 2 and 3)

(v) This aranye anuvākya gana appears to be consisting of two anuvākas:  
and is thus the mantra gana

(iii) (a) Bau ŚrS IV, 7, 5 states:

ksāpavitram



kṣpavitram sahasrākṣo mṛgār'omhomucau ganau /  
pāvamanyasca Kuṣmāṇḍyo vaiśvānaryah ṛtaśca yāh /

where the two mantṣa-gaṇas of the name of Amhomuc are mentioned.

(b) Āp ŚrS. XVII, 17, 5: yathā pūrvairevam tribhir uttarair  
ganaih also refers to the gaṇa-s as mantra-gaṇas

the occasion of certain social functions, such as birth or

(iv) Not only the collection of mantras, but the multitude of many other things are expressed by gaṇa.

(a) In Ās ŚrS IX, 9, 16 (i.e. Uktara III, 9, 16) it is said  
pūrvān vā gaṇas o 'bhyaset //

It has been explained with reference to its context that the dakṣiṇā is to be given repeatedly in gaṇas or "groups" of ten, of cows and others, as said before provided there are no other things.

(b) camasa-gaṇa is very often referred to as in Āp ŚrS XIV, 3, 10 "... hotrcamasamukhyah prathamō gaṇah / maitrāvaruṇa  
camasamukhyo dvitīyah / rāhmaṇācchamsicamasamukhyastṛtīyah /  
 ... etc.

In XIV, 3, 14 "... prathamābhyam gaṇabhyām adhvaryuścarati /  
uttarābhyām pratiprasthātā /

In XIV, 2, 2 "... yadyu vai ṣoḍasyukthyacamasānām uttamam gaṇam  
unnayannekaśmai camasagaṇāya rājānam atirecayati.

(c) Gaṇas in Āp ŚrS XVI, 21, 9:

(v) But the most important are the examples of gaṇa used in the Sūtras to denote "the band of men."

(a) Bau Dh S III, 6, 10 makes an aphorism which is repeated in the later Vā Dh S XIV, 10:

ganānam / .....

ganānnaṃ ganikānnaṃ ca sūdrānnaṃ śrāddhasūtakam /

corasyānnaṃ navasrāddham sarvaṃ punatha me yavā iti /

To the barley grains, one prays for purifying oneself for the sin committed for taking the food of the ganās, the ganikā-s, (vi) sudras etc. VāDhS calls such food as abhojyam. The food on the occasion of certain social functions, such as birth or death or a sacrifice to the dead, are considered impure, at the same time the food of the socially degraded persons such as thieves, harlots is also considered impure. Gana in connection with cora and ganikā therefore was derogatory in meaning and might be synonymous to "gang" of either common men or labourers, but as sūdra is mentioned separately, it might not necessarily be the group of people of lower rank.

(b) In Kāt ŚrS XXII, 11, 11:

vaisyastomadakṣiṇāliṅgo marutstomo ganayajño bhrātṛnām

sakhīnām vā // It is explained as:

vaisyastomadakṣiṇāyām yāni yāni līṅgāni tānyatrāpi

bhavanti / marutstoma iti ca samjñā / bhrātṛnām

sakhīnām vā sa bhavati ganayajñah /

Here the sense of gana appears to be not derogatory. It may denote simply a band of men either of the relatives or of the friendly people.

(c) Ganeṣu in Āp ŚrS XVI, 21, 9:

prācīrupadadhāti praticērupadadhātīti ganeṣu rītivadah

appears to be denoting "among the different groups of people."

(d) In Hir GS II, 18, 9 in the "upākarana-utsarjana" chapter,

it is said: saganah prācīmudicīm vā disam upaniskramya yatrāpah  
sukhāh /.....

3. sukhāṇ sukḥāvagāhās .....

(i) where sagana stands for the teacher and denotes the teacher with his pupils. Sometimes they are called ganapati (also in (1)).

Ganapati in (11) (a), however, refers to Agni, whose gan discussed

(vi) Gana as a specific social institution like gotra is found in a very few references, in the earlier sūtras.

(a) In Bau ŚrS. pravaraḍhyāya 2 it is said: eka eva ṛsiryāvat pravareṣvanuvartate tāvat samānagotrātvam anyatra bhṛgvāṅgirasām

ganat - which signifies that there is the identity of gotra and therefore no possibility of intermarriage when one ṛsi name

follows the pravaras but this is applicable elsewhere than the gana of the Bhṛgus and Āṅgirasas.<sup>1</sup>

This is an important point for the new denotation of the word.

BROUGH in his study of "The Early History of the Gotras" (in

JRAS, 1946, p. 34) has found from the Sūtra texts (later) "Each

gotra is subdivided into several ganās or groups, each gana

with its own distinctive pravara. All the ganās within one

gotra however normally have at least one pravara name in common -

that of the eponymous ṛsi of the major gotra." This position

might have not been fully attained in the earlier period of the

sūtras. Here we find the word is generalised to the sense of

'band' not necessarily to 'the band of the gods' (because it necess-

itated the explicit mention of devānām with gana). In (viii) the

word stands for the group of 'lower animals' like the swans and the

camels. It can be presumed that the word might be used for a human

band also.

<sup>1</sup> ZIMMER argues that Bhṛgvāṅgirasas were the oldest gotra ('Studien Zur Geschichte der Gotras, Berlin, 1914) BROUGH (JRAS, 1946, pp. 32-45) mention the Bhṛgus and Āṅgirasas as having Kevalagana. Others like Jamadagnis, Gautamas and Bhāradvājas have the gotra-ganas.

G. SUMMARY: word which is applied to the gana of Atri referred to in

(i) Gana in RV. is used mostly to denote the band of the Maruts (discussed in (i).) Sometimes they are called ganāsri (also in (i).) Ganasriyah in (ii) (a), however, refers to Agni, whose gana discussed in (ii) seems to be 'the band of worshippers.' In (iii) the gana of the Maruts is discussed to be the 'retinue' of Indra. Similarly in (iv) (b) the gana belonging to Brhaspati/Brahmanaspati seems to be the Angirases as he is called ganānām ganapati. Indra is also addressed ganapate ganesu (in (iv) (c)), the gana in ganapati probably refers to the Maruts and ganesu may be "among the human worshippers' bands." The human band of worshippers may be the meaning of the word as discussed in (v) (a) (b) (c). Thus, "retinue" may be the original meaning of the word standing for (i) the Maruts (in case of Indra) (2) the Angirases (in case of Brhaspati/Brahmanaspati and Indra) and (3) the human worshippers (in case of Agni and Indra.) Hence The sense of "retinue" has within it the meanings of "the followers" and of "the band" combined. Metaph In (vii) we have seen gana denotes simply 'a band' with devānām denoting 'a band of the gods' or without devānām also suggested to be 'the band of the gods'. In (xii), sumad-ganaḥ refers to the gana of the gods. Here we find the word is generalised to the sense of 'band' not necessarily to 'the band of the gods' (because it necessitated the explicit mention of devānām with gana). In (viii) the word stands for the group of 'lower animals' like the swans and the camels. It can be presumed that the word might be used for a human band also. especially in AV (PAT)

From the generalised meaning 'band' is later derived a special sense/.....

1 I, 38, 5; 2 V, 52, 13; 3 V, 58, 2; 4 VI, 66, 11.



sense of the word which is applied to the gana of Atri referred to in (vi) (a) and (vii) (a) which is putrapautrādi according to SĀYANA, 'Gefolge' according to GELDNER, 'people' according to GRIFFITH. This may have the sense of 'followers' also and may be a semantic transfer from 'retinue' as applied to the gods' human worshippers, to the sons, kins and followers of a man. The gana of Indra referring to the army is a further specialisation of the sense of 'retinue.' The Maruts who are chiefly called to form a gana (of Indra) are said to be "youthful" "strong" "terrible" (in many places) though the epithets, "musical",<sup>1</sup> "glorious",<sup>1</sup> "wise poets"<sup>2</sup> also are found and "with lightning as his spear"<sup>2</sup> "with a quoit in his hand",<sup>3</sup> "holding a spear"<sup>4</sup> etc., they are never described as actually fighting under the banner of Indra, (except in X, 103, 3).

In IV, 50, 5 also, Brhaspati is said to have destroyed the obstructive Vala, with the loud shouting as well as extolling gana. Hence it is not proper to translate gana by "army" "troop" "schar" only because they have powerful bodies or are bedecked with arms. Metaphorically the word is applied to the "army" in the play of dice.

(ii) In AV. excepting some instances which are exactly repeated RV. verses, there are some where gana is said to be of the Maruts and the functions of the Maruts are newly stated there. In one, the word gana appears to have been used to denote a number of the mantras in AV. probably as the constituent parts of the paryāya hymns.

There are also some instances where gana denotes bands of people and animals etc. especially in AV (PAI)

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<sup>1</sup> I, 38, 5; <sup>2</sup> V, 52, 13; <sup>3</sup> V, 58, 2; <sup>4</sup> VI, 66, 11.

(iii) In YV., there are sometimes repetitions of the RV. verses containing the word gana, which has the Rgvedic senses, viz. the retinue of Indra or Brhaspati. Agni is once called saganah, but this gana is apparently not of the Maruts. Seven is the number of the ganas of the Maruts with seven in each gana. This conception of a number of ganas comprising the Maruts might have been developed later in AV. and YV. for which the use of gana in plural is so less in number in RV. The number of the ganas of the Maruts once in KS XI, 1 is twenty-one, a multiple, however, of seven.

The Rudras numbering 33, who are evidently different from the Maruts are also said to be ganin forming ganas, probably three of 'eleven' each. But as ganapati-s, they are the protectors of the ganas of the lower animals (i.e. pasu-gana-pati) while Brhaspati is called sagana as he is supposed to hold a command over his gana which may be the gana of the Angirases. In calling Brahmanaspati ganānām ganapati, his command over the Angirases or the sacrificing priests (as is also found in RV.) may be suggested, but it is not quite clear why the horse of the Āsvamedha is called ganānām ganapati, probably because he is considered the best of the ganas of all animals. In the satarudrīya litany, homage is paid to the ganas and to the ganapati-s where gana has been explained by Indian annotators (viz. SĀYANA and MAHĪDHARA) as the group of beings who are the general retinue of the gods. ROTH's interpretation of gana here as "guild" criticised in 'Vedic Index', is unfounded. We can as well explain ganebhyah as devaganebhyah in consideration of those gods who are known in bands e.g., the Vasus, the Rudras, the Ādityas, the Visvedevas and the Maruts and by ganapatibhyah, the leaders of these devaganas are/....

are probably intended such as Indra the leader of the Maruts. In the absence of any sure explanation, no conclusion can be drawn from this example. Devaganāh occurs in VS, also in Khila of RV., which probably denotes the band of the banded gods. The general sense of a collection of the Mantras as found in AV. is also seen in YV. Ganān me in (xii) seems to denote the bands of followers, but as prajāh is separately mentioned it does not in all likelihood denote the sons, the grandsons etc. Thus the sense of 'retinue of the gods' which is found in RV. is no more found in the new verses of AV. and YV. But the gana-s (plural) of the Maruts are mentioned having the sense of the bands. This sense has been arrived at by means of "generalisation of meaning." A further generalisation of meaning to "collection" or "set" with regard to the mantras is also found both in AV. and YV.

In YV. specially the collection sense of gana is more prominent as we find it used in the case of the seven or twenty-one groups of Maruts, or the groups of the thirty-three Rudras, the groups of the lower animals and the groups of human followers (which may be the semantic transfer from 'the retinue') and the sets of mantras.

(iv) The Brahmanas quote the Ṛgvedīe ganānām tvā ganapatim havāmahe and the YV. instances of the seven ganās of the Maruts and the ganās of the other gods. Besides the gana of the gods the gana of Stomas and Mantras is conceived. The gana of the metres is new in the Brāhmanas. gana as 'the band of human followers' was already in use in the YV. As the possession of anna and paśu was desirable so was also the authority held over the gana, which was possibly the human retinue.

(v) No new use of the word gana is found in the period of the Āraṇyakas and the earlier Upaniṣads.

(vi) In the Kalpasūtras, besides referring to the ganas of the Maruts and of other gods, there are references to the mantraganas. Moreover there are lots of things used to denote a collection, such as the camasa-gana. But the word also denotes in this stage 'the human retinue' in the word ganānam where there is also pejoration of the meaning; in ganayajna performed by a number of people who are the followers of the person organising the sacrifice. The pupils of the preceptor are also called "his gana." But the most important fact is that in the earlier sūtras is hinted the establishment of a social group called gana with at least one pravara in each, the gana being a sub-division, generally speaking, of gotra.

(vii) Thus in the oldest use of the word gana (in RV) it seems to signify the retinue of the gods, Maruts being primarily intended as the retinue of Indra; The Angirases also for Brhaspati, or the human priests for Agni, Indra etc., then the meaning was generalised to "a band" - it might be the band of gods, men or even of lower animals. There might have been a specialisation of this sense to "the army" also, but there is no reason to believe this word to have been used exclusively as "troop" or "Schar." In AV. and YV. the word continues to be used in these senses, but the sense of "retinue" as it is attached to the Maruts and Angirases is found to be lost except in some fossilised uses. The Rudras generally came into being as a group of banded gods at this time and they were the lords of the beasts. In/.....



In addition to its general sense of "a band," and "the band of lower animals" the sense of a band of subdivine beings newly conceived as gana might have started at this stage, whose lord was Rudra Paśupati who in the Pauranic days merged into the Great God Śiva, but the name gaṇeśa was given to his Elephant-headed son. This presumption however requires to be verified by archaeological and other sources and finds very little support from the study of the words. In AV. specially the set of mantras in the Paṇyāya hymns is known as gana. The use continues in YV. Brahmanas and Sūtras.

As a group of human beings besides the human worshippers in RV. we have noticed one use of the gana of Atri. If this gana does not suggest the gana of senses as suggested by the Indian commentators, this might be called the first step to the use of gana as a social group. We can not be definite whether the followers or the relatives of Atri were referred to here by the word gana. The sense of "human band following" appears to be attached to the word in some instances in AV(Pai), YV, Brāhmaṇa and Sūtras. A pejorative change of meaning appears to have come to the word in the Sūtra and the most important change of it as a subdivision of gotra is also found though not markedly as in the later Sūtras.

to explain best the employment which the term shows in the later literature as denoting the 'family' or 'clan' and which is found in the Ch. Up. 4, 4, 1.

#### A. Gotra in RV:

Gotra occurs four times, in RV I, 51, 3; II, 23, 18; VIII, 50, 10 (or VSI. 2, 10) and II, 26, 23; - gotra six times, in II, 17, 1;

3. GOTRA; III, 43, 7; IV, 15, 8; VI, 63, 3 and X, 43, 2;

Gotra, a very important word for a particular type of social institution in the later days, occurs in RV in nearly a score of instances, but without any significance of a social body, as noticed by almost all the different interpreters of the RV.

(1) In 'Nighaṇṭu' gotra is considered the synonym of megha (megha-nāmāni I. 10), its feminine form being included in the synonyms of 'the earth' ("gotrā prthivī- nāmadheyāni" I, 1) which is however not found in the RV. SĀYANA and the other Indian commentators generally follow "Nighaṇṭu" in ascribing the meaning "cloud" to the word (with the etymology "gāudakāni trāyante") But sometimes they also explain it as gavām samūha ("gotrāṇi gavām samūha ityartho 'Khalago-rathāt' ityanuvṛttau 'ini-tra-Katvacas ca'" (Pāṇ, 4/2/57) iti samūhārthe tra-pratyayah" - SĀYANA under RV. I, 51, 3; III, 39, 4 etc.) Sometimes they attribute to it the sense of parvata "the hill" ("gaur bhūmih / tām trāyanta iti gotrāḥ parvatāḥ" - SĀYANA under RV X, 103, 6) But the European scholars generally ignore the meaning of 'Nighaṇṭu' and they are more or less consistent in explaining the word as either a "herd of cattle" or a "cowpen" 'Vedic Index' (I, 235) prefers GELDNER's suggestion of the meaning "herd" to ROTH's "cowstall" for gotra, "to explain best the employment which the term shows in the later literature as denoting the 'family' or 'clan' and which is found in the Ch. Up. 4, 4, 1. , translates similarly:

"Thou has opened the cloud (in the footnote, it is

A. Gotra in RV: said: "The term is gotra, explained either a cloud

Gotram occurs four times, in RV I, 51, 3; II, 23, 18; VIII, 50, 10 (or Vāl. 2, 10) and IX, 86, 23; - gotrā six times, in II, 17, 1;

III, 30, 21; III, 43, 7; IV, 16, 8; VI, 65, 5 and X, 48, 2; -  
 gotrāṇi occurs twice, in III, 39, 4, and X, 103, 7; - gotrasya  
 also twice in VIII, 63, 5 and X, 120, 8 and the compound gotrabhid  
 in VI, 17, 2 with the Acc. Sg. of it in II, 23, 3 and X, 103, 6.

- (i) (a) In I, 51, 3 (ab) tvam gotram āngirobhyo 'vr̥norāpo-tātraye  
śatādureṣu gātuvit /

gotram is explained by SĀYANA as "avyakta-sabda-vantam  
vr̥styndakasyāvatarakam megham" connected with āngirobhyah and  
avr̥nor apa respectively explained as āngirasām r̥stnāmarthāya  
 and apavarāṇam kṛtavānasi, i.e. vr̥sterāvarakam megham  
vajrenodghāṭya. An alternative meaning is also suggested by  
 him, "go-samūham paṇibhir apahr̥tam guhāsu nihitam  
guhādvārodghāṭanena prākāśayah." GRIFFITH translates the verse  
 into:

"Thou has disclosed the Kine's stall for the  
 Angirases, and made a way for Atri by a hundred  
 doors" ("disclosed" is used here obviously in the  
 very literal sense of avr̥nor ("closed" or "covered")  
 and apa ("dis" - i.e. "take off").) A footnote  
 is added with "The Kine's stall" - "the dark cloud  
 that holds the water imprisoned."

WILSON who follows SĀYANA, translates similarly:

"Thou has opened the cloud (in the footnote, it is  
 said: "The term is gotra, explained either a cloud  
 or a herd of cattle. Gotrabhid, as a name of  
 Indra implies in ordinary language mountain breaker,  
 that/....

that is with the thunderbolt; as applied to cattle it alludes, it is said, to the recovery of the cows stolen by Pani, in either case, the act was performed in consequence of the prayers or for the benefit of the descendants of Āngiras) for the Āngiras thou has shown the way to Atri, who vexes his adversaries by a hundred doors ...."

GELDNER translates the line by:

"Du hast für die Āngiras', die Kuh-herde aufgedeckt  
..."

GELDNER's "Kuh herde" accords well with the second meaning of SĀYANA (go-samūham) although V. MĀDHAVA suggested only one meaning and that is valam megharūpam which coincides with the first meaning suggested by SĀYANA.

LUDWIG translates the line into:

"den Āngiras hast du den rinderstall geöffnet auch  
dem Atri förderung findend durch hundert tore, ..."

This agrees with GRIFFITH's translation. This is also the meaning suggested by ROTH. GRASSMANN does not discriminate where the word denotes "Kuh hürde" and where "Kuhstall". The hymn is addressed to Indra. Vṛnorāpa is repeated in the fourth verse and there the object of it is apām apidhānā ("the prisons of the waters" - GRIFFITH, "udakānām ācchādaKān meghān" - SĀYANA, "die Verschlüsse der Gewässer" - GELDNER.) This may be the repetition of the same idea in different words or Indra's two different achievements may be narrated in these first lines of the two verses. GELDNER says that "Der Vṛtra mythos" /.....



mythos" is described in Verse 4, and the Vala myth is probably suggested by him in the third verse. But SĀYANA's meaning of megha can as well hold good describing the same Vṛtra myth in the present verse also.

(b) The occurrence of gotram in IX, 86, 23 is similar to that in I, 51, 3:

ádribhiḥ sutaḥ pavase pavitra  
ā́ índavímdrasya jathāreṣvāviśān /  
tvām nṛcākṣā abhavo vicakṣana  
sōma gotrāmāngirobhyo 'vr̥norāpa /

The latter half of the verse is explained by SĀYANA thus:

"he .. vidraṣṭaḥ soma tvām nṛnām draṣṭā bhava /  
tvam āngirobhyah gotram megham udakam  
ks̥arayitum paṇibhirapahr̥tānām gavām  
āvarakam parvatakam vāpāvṛṇoh /

SĀYANA suggests here another meaning besides megha, i.e. parvata, which is supposed to have confined the cows stolen by the Paṇis. Regarding this meaning ROTH remarks in 'SW':

"Diese Bed, ist wohl aus gotrabhid geschlossen worden."  
 This meaning, however, seems to be developed later.

GRIFFITH translates this instance into:

"Farsighted Soma, now thou lookest on mankind,  
 thou didst unbar the cowstall for the Āngirases."  
 In the footnote he adds: ".... didst recover the cattle stolen  
 by the Paṇis that is the rays of light that the  
 friends of darkness had carried off; the great deed  
 of Indra being ascribed to Soma his inspirer."

The/.....

The expression here is the same as the last instance as the verse means to say that Soma Pavamāna is vicakṣaṇa (clever) and being nṛcaṁsā (having an eye to (the well-being of) the mankind) becomes responsible for drawing off the confinement of the gotra, by going into Indra, whose military achievement may be the killing of either Vṛtra or Vala.

In the exhilaration of Soma-drink Indra performed the heroic deed as it is said in the previous instance, The inner meaning of both the instances being the same, no change of meaning seems to be necessary as done by GRIFFITH and SĀYANA. GELDNER translates the instance thus:

"Du wardst der männlich Blickende du weit blickender;  
für die Angiras hast du Soma, die Kuhherde  
aufgedeckt."

Bergaigne translates it by:

" Ô toi liquide, dont l'éclat vient des hommes, tu  
es apparu, étincelant, tu as ouvert l'étable pour  
les actifs (Angiras).

(c) Connected with verb root vr along with apa- occurs another instance, the word gotrā in III, 43, 7 (ce):

yasya mādē cyāvāyasi prā kṛstīr

yasya mādē āpa gotrā vavārtha //

SĀYANA explains this portion: yasya somasya mādē harṣe sanjāte  
saptnabhūtān manuṣyān prakarṣeṇa pātayasi / gāmudakam  
rasmibhirāvṛtam varṣās-vrtusu trāyante pālayantīti gotrāḥ  
meghāḥ / tān apavavartha apāvṛṇesi, and WILSON translates:

"....in/...

"... in whose exhilaration thou castest down the  
(opposing) men, in whose exhilaration thou hast set  
open the clouds."

GRIFFITH: "In whose wild joy thou stirrest up the people, in  
whose wild joy thou didst unbar the cowstall."

GELDNER: "... in dessen Rausch du die Völker in Bewegung  
bringst, in dessen Rausch du die Kuhherden  
aufgedeckt hast."

LUDWIG: "... in des rausche du in heftige bewegung setzest  
die Völker, in des rausche du geöffnet has die  
rinderställe."

This instance has the same meaning as the previous one, only  
there is no mention of "for the Āṅgirasas."

In I, 132, 4:

nū itthā te pūrvāthā cā pravācyam  
vād āṅgirobhyo 'vr̥nodāpa  
vrajām indra śīksannāpa vrajam

we find only vrajām is used for gotram in the first instance.  
SĀYANA although explains one vrajām as antarikṣe gacchantam  
megham by saying "vraja iti meghanāma," another he explains  
as gavām samūham, meaning that Indra is prayed for to burst  
open the cloud as well as for protecting the Āṅgirasas by  
distributing among them the cows snatched away from the non-  
sacrificers.

VIII, 63, 3 (ab) can be quoted for comparison:

sā vidvā āṅgirobhya indro gā avrnodāpa /

as also VIII, 14, 8 (ab)

ūdga ājad āṅgirobhya āviskr̥vān guhāsatiḥ

The two vraja-s in I. 132, 4 in the sense of "cloud" and "the herd of cows" can be compared to I, 51, 3 and 4, successively mentioning gotrām vr̥ṇor āpa and apām apidhānā vr̥ṇorāpa.

Hence, although the "herd of cows" seems to be the suitable meaning which is suggested by GELDNER, we cannot say definitely that the word does not denote 'the cloud' in connection with apa-vr̥.

(d) gotrā in II. 17, 1 (cd):

visvā yād gotrā sāhasā parīvrtā

māde sōmasya dr̥mhitānyairayat //

SĀYANA explains: "... sarvāni gā udakāni trāyante rakṣantīti gotrā meghāstān vrtrenākṛāntān sōmasya māde harṣe sañjāte sati dr̥dhīkṛtām meghān udaghātayat. SĀYANA derives airayat from verb root "īra gatau" - "nyantasya lanīrūpam."

V. MĀDHAVA also gives the meaning meghān to the word gotrā.

GRIFFITH: "...When in the rapture of the Soma, he unclosed with strength the solid firm shut stables of the Kine."

GELDNER: "... (Wie damals) als er mit Gewalt die eingesperrten Kuhherden die fest Verschlossenen im Soma rausch herrschafte."

LUDWIG: "... da alle festverschoszenen rinderställe mit gewalt er, die festgemachten, öffnete."

SĀYANA explains sahasā parīvrtā as "attacked by the enemy" but the European interpreters construe sahasā with airayat, but they are widely apart. Instead of the sense of "cloud" as suggested by SĀYANA, if the European interpreters' meaning "the number of cows"/... "Der/...



cows" is accepted for gotra, the meaning of the line can also be thus, following SĀYANA in certain respects ... "As all the herds of cows were enclosed very strongly (by the enemy) (in strong enclosures), he, i.e. Indra let them go or released (which were) firmly shut (in the firm enclosures), in the rapture of Soma."

(e) dr̥mhitā connected with gotra is further found in III, 39, 4 which runs thus:

ná kiresā́m ninditá́ mártyeṣu  
yé asmákam pitáro goṣu yodhā́h /

(f) gotra indra eṣā́m dr̥mhitá́ máhināvā́n  
úd gotráṇi sasrje dā́msā́nāvā́n //

The second half of the verse is thus explained by SĀYANA:

mahimopetaḥ vṛtrahananādi O karmavān indrah eṣā́m ā́ngirasā́m  
samrddhā́ni gotráṇi gāvā́m vṛndā́ni tebhyo 'ngiroyah dadau."

V. MĀDHAVA paraphrases: indrah eṣā́m ā́ngirasā́m upodbalakah

pūjāvā́n gāvā́m ā́varanā́n meghā́n vajrenotsasrje karmavā́n /

although goṣu in the first half is explained as pañibhir  
apahr̥tesu goṣu.

GRIFFITH: "Not one is found among them none of mortals, to blame our sires who fought to win the cattle.

Their strengthener was Indra the majestic; he spread their stalls of Kine, the wonder worker."

Here GRIFFITH, with LUDWIG, understands dr̥mhitā referring to Indra and possibly thinks it derived with the suffix -tr̥ as GRASSMANN also holds with its meaning "Befestiger."

But GELDNER translates the latter half of the verse thus:

"Der/....

GELOMER: "Der zu Essen tat sich der Berg auf, als du inselnde  
 "Der grossmächtige Indra hat ihre ein geschlossenem  
 die Rinderherde, herausliessst."  
 Kuhherden heraus gelaussen, der Meisterkünstler."

LUDWIG: "dainer herlichkeit Minata der  
 and seems to construe dr̥mhitā with gotrā like SĀYANA.

LUDWIG: ".../ Indra war ihr festiger der majestätische er  
 HILLESBRAND: "dainer majestätische er  
 leerte die rinder ställe, der wundertätige."

SĀYANA gives a later meaning (dadau) to the word ut sasrje,  
 In all these interpretations, we find the explanation  
 but in II, 23, 18 which is discussed below (gāvām gotrām  
udasrjah) udasrjah is rendered niragamayat, which can be accepted  
 Kine" except in postulating that gotra had the generalisation  
 in the present instance also whether gotra means "the herd of  
 of meaning at that time in the sense of "any sort of band or  
 cows" or "the cloud (i.e. the rainwater in the cloud.)"  
 group" besides that "of Kine" and therefore requires the

(f) gotram in II. 23, 18:

tava śriye vyajihīta pārvato  
gāvām gotrām udasrjo yad angirah /  
 SĀYANA explains udasrjah as niragamayah in II. 17, 1. parvatah  
 is explained as gavām āvarako valenādhisthitah and angirah tava  
śriye vyajihīta as he brhaspate tava āśrayanārtham vivṛtadvāratām  
agacchat / yad as yadā, gavām gotram udasrjah gavām samūham  
niragamayah.

(11) V. MĀDHAVA also explains gavām gotram together as gavām samūham,  
 whereby gavām appears to be redundant. WILSON appears to be  
 to have a different sense from the word connected with the verb  
 meaning "to let go," "to release" etc.

"When, Brhaspati, descendant of Āngiras, for thy  
 (a) gotrā in IV. 16, 8:  
 thy glory, Parvata had concealed the herd of Kine,  
 thou didst set them free,"

which does not agree with SĀYANA's explanation.

GRIFFITH: "The mountain, for thy glory, cleft itself apart,  
 when Angiras! thou openedest the stall of Kine."

GELDNER: "Dir zu Ehsen tat sich der Berg auf, als du Angirase  
die Rinderherde, herausliesst."

LUDWIG: "deiner herlichkeit öffnete der berg sich, da du  
(ihn), den rinderstall leertest, O Angiras;"

HILLEBRANDT: "Deiner majestät wich der Berg, als du, Angiras,  
den Kuhstall freilliesest..."

In all these interpretations, we find no explanation of using gavām while gotra itself contains the sense "stall or herd of kine," except in postulating that gotra had the generalisation of meaning at that time in the sense of "any sort of band or group" besides that "of Kine" and therefore requires the explicit mention of gavām with it. GRASSMANN probably has such a presumption because besides the general meaning "Kuhstall, Kuhhürde" he makes another category of meaning for the present instance and also for that in VI, 65, 5, viz. 2) in der Verbindung gotrām gāvām." But we are not sure about it. In this instance neither SĀYANA nor V. MĀDHAVA suggests the meaning 'the cloud.'

(ii) Gotra in connection with verb "to break", "to assail" appears to have a different sense from the word connected with the verb meaning "to let go," "to release" etc.

(a) gotrā in IV, 16, 8:

apó yád ádrim puruhūta dardar

āvīr bhuvat sarāmā pūrvyānte /

sāho netā vājam ā darṣi

bhūrim gotrā rujānāmgirobhir grṇānah //

<sup>1</sup> In the consideration of GILBERT this line is the speech of Sarāmā who appeared before Indra while he cracked the rocks.

Indra is the deity of the hymn. V.MĀDHAVA paraphrases:

"atha sa tvam / netā / gavātmakam bahu / annam /  
asmadartham / ādaritavānasi / śiloccayān tadāvaranān  
meghān / bhindau / āgirobhiḥ / atuyamānaḥ /

SĀYANA explains: āgirobhiḥ ṛṣibhiḥ gr̥nānaḥ stūyamānaḥ san  
gotrā gotrāny abhrāṇi rujan naḥ asmān bhūrim  
prabhūtam vājam annam netā prāpayitā saḥ tvam ā  
derṣi ādaram kṛtavānasi.

WILSON following him translates: "... and thou, the bringer of abundant food, hast shown us favour dividing the clouds and glorified by the Āngirases."

GRIFFITH: "Hymned by Angirases, bursting the cowstalls, much strength thou foundest for us as leader."

GELDNER<sup>1</sup>: "Als unser Führer sollst du reiche Beute heraus schlagen, die Kuhhöhlen erbrechend von dem Angiras' angerufen."

LUDWIG: "...so verschaffst du uns vie kraftnarung als führer, in dem besungen von den Angiras du die ställe auf brachst."

GELDNER here is found to have departed from his usual translation of gotra by "Rinderherde," because with ruj "to break" "to burst open," it will carry no sense.

In the first line of the verse, it is said, according to the Indian commentators, when Indra broke open the adri (the cloud) for the (rain) water, Saramā the divine bitch disclosed the cows which had previously been stolen by the Panis. The incidents appear to be not very much connected. GRIFFITH translates/...

<sup>1</sup> In the consideration of GELDNER this line is the speech of Saramā who appeared before Indra while he cracked the rocks.



translates, "When ... the water's rock thou cleftest Sarama showed herself and went before thee." The difficulty of connecting the ideas is still there. GELDNER however agrees with Oldenberg's conjecture that apo (i.e. apa-u) is to be read for apo and translates "Als du Vielgerufener den Kels aufsprengtest, da war dir zuvor die Sarama erschienen." With the reading of a changed accent of apo however adri can better be explained as 'mountain' which blocked the cows; the connection of the former part with the latter part of the first line is then obvious. Saramā went in search of the cows stolen by the Panis and she with the stolen cows was exposed when the rock blocking the cows was shattered by Indra. The connection of the first line with the second line is also clear as here it is said to Indra, that prayed by Angirases, he has acted like their leader and has procured for them propuse wealth (in therecovered cows) by breaking the gotras (ā darsī, variously interpreted can be roughly taken in the sense of you obtain, or procure.)<sup>1</sup>

(b) gotrā in III, 30, 21 (ab):

ā no gotrā dardrhi gopate gāh  
sām asmābhyam sanāyo yantu vājāh //

SĀYANA explains as we have already cited:

"gotrāny abhrāni apah praty ā dardrhi ādriyasva  
abhrāni vidārya jalāni prāpayetyarthah / "

(c) WILSON renders gotrā ā dardrhi into divide the clouds in following SĀYANA. But SĀYANA seems to combine the two senses of vi-dr̥ and prāp in ādardrhi.

<sup>1</sup> ā dardrhi in ā no gotrā dardrhi gopate gāh (III, 30, 21-a) is explained by SĀYANA as "abhrāni vidārya jalāni prāpayetyarthah"

GRIFFITH: "Lord of the Kine, burst the Kine's stables open; cows shall be ours and strength that wins the booty."

But he seems to have understood gāh as nominative (which would then be gāvah).

GELDNER as usual translates gotrā into "Rinderherden" in "Schlag uns Rinderherden heraus, du Rinderbesitzer! Für uns sollen sich die Gewinne, die Belohnungen ansammeln."

Noticeable here in this translation is the omission of the word gāh.

LUDWIG: "brich uns auf die rinderställe herr du rinder (gib), gewinnende kräfte sollen uns zukommen."

which shows that he presumes an ellipsis of the transitive verb like dehi with gāh as its object, while ā dardrhi is only "break away."

In VIII, 39, 14, ā dardrhi is used:

ā no gavyāny āsvyā sahasrā 'sūra dardrhi

and according to SĀYANA is āvivṛṇu. In the present instance, gotrā may be abhrāni in connection with vidāryapṛāpaya as explained by SĀYANA. It is "Kine-stables" with "burst open" according to LUDWIG and GRIFFITH. GELDNER's meaning is "Rinderherden" in connection with "schlag" which does not suitably have the object "Rinderherden" especially when the subject of the verb is called "Rinderbesitzer."

"The confinement or the hindrance behind which are confined the cows." may be the possible meaning of gotra here, although the sense "cloud" is not quite improbable.

(c) gotrā in X, 103, 7:

abhi gotrāni sāhasā gāhamāno

'dayo vīrah śatamanyur īndrah /

duścyaavanāh/.....

is probab. duścyavanāḥ prtanāsālayundhyō mention of Indra's

superhuman 'smākam senā avatu prā yutsū // suggested by SĀYANA

Besides in IV, 16, 8, gotrā in this verse is translated by GELDNER into "Kuhhöhlen." In all other instances he usually attributes the meaning "Rinderherde."

SĀYANA explains: ayam indrah abhrāṇi meghān valenābhi  
prāvāviśan nirdayo vikrāntah bahu-yajño bahu-krodho vā  
anyairacālyah ..... tṛḡgindrah asmākam senā saṃgrāmesu  
prakarṣena raksatu.

GRIFFITH: "Piercing the cowstalls with surpassing vigour  
 Indra the pitiless Hero ---- may he protect our  
 armies in our battles."

GELDNER: "Der mit Gewalt in die Kuhställe enidruigt ohne  
 Erbarmen, der Held Indra mit hundersfachem Eifer  
 .... der soll in den Schlachten rensereen Heeren  
 weiter helfen."

LUDWIG: "mit übergewalt in die rinderställe dvingend der  
 unbarmherzige held, indra mit hundertfachem grimme  
 ...."

abhiḡāhamāṇah here in the sense of "penetrating," along with  
sahasā "by force" has its object gotrāṇi, which in the sense  
 of "cowstalls" as suggested by GRIFFITH, LUDWIG and even GELDNER  
 here would not be convincing. It might be the rocks or hills  
 blocking up the cows which are penetrated by force. This  
 hymn to Indra is clearly a prayer for the victory in the battle  
 which seems to be quite imminent and here the powers in the  
 regaining of the cows from the confinement made by the foes  
 is/....

is probably recounted. Of course the mention of Indra's superhuman power of piercing the cloud as suggested by SĀYANA is not quite improbable while seeking his protection against the enemies. Here gotrāni may be the blocks of stone or hills as also the cloud.

(d) In X, 120, 8 cd is used in the Genitive case in connection with Ksayati:

mahó gotrasya Ksayati svarājo

dúrasca vísvā avṛṇod ápa svāh

SĀYANA explains it thus: "ya indro mahato gotrasya parvatasya valenāsureṇa gavām pidhānārtham nihitasya svarājah svayameva rājamānasya / īdr̥sam parvatam Ksayati / apagamayati /" An alternative meaning is suggested by him: gotrasya gosamūhasya mahah mahatah svarājah svayameva rājamānasye ya indrah Ksayati iste. In the first explanation Ksay is taken in the sense of "waste" or "damage," and in the second it is taken in the sense "holding sway over" (aisvaryakarma). About the genitive case of gotrasya SĀYANA gives a grammatical comment "Karmanah sampradānatvāccaturthyarthe sasthī."

GELDNER translates: "Er verfügt über die grosse Herde des selbst herr lichen (Vala) und er öffnete alle seine Tore."

GELDNER's meaning of Ksayati is somewhat similar to the first meaning given by SĀYANA while GRIFFITH translates with the second meaning suggested by SĀYANA:

"He rules the great self luminous fold of cattle and all the doors of light hath he thrown open."

GRIFFITH seems to follow LUDWIG who translates "er der selbsterscher/.....



selbstherrscher gebietet übergroßen rinderstall und  
 alle seine töre hat er (dieser) auf geschlossen,"  
 and this meaning seems better than GELDNER's because Indra is  
 also called gopati, and with the meaning "decays" or "ruins"  
 (GELDNER's "disposes of" too) the meaning of "herd of cattle"  
 is not suitable. SĀYANA with the former meaning of Kṣayati  
 interprets gotra as parvata "hill for keeping concealed the  
 cows behind it."

In this instance, we find the word gotra may have either  
 of the two meanings - "the herd of cows" which is generally  
 connected with "let go" or "released" or "the block of stones  
 or rock behind which the cows stolen by the enemies were con-  
 cealed" or "the cloud" which is connected with "breaking" or  
 "smashing."

(iii) The word gotra in certain instances is connected with the verb  
 meaning "to give" etc.

(a) In VIII, 63, 5

ādū nū te ānukrātum svāhā vārasya yajyavah /  
svātrāmārkā anūsatēmdra gotrasya dāvane //

The latter half is explained by SĀYANA thus:

"Kṣipram avcayitārah anukramena stuvanti tava  
Kratum Karmānukramena śighram atidīrgham

(b) gotra stuvanti dhanasya dānāya."

Here the use of the word dāvane without the noun in the Dative  
 Case is notable, from which it is evident that the invokers  
 pray for giving the gotra to them.

GRIFFITH: "Now after their desires' intent the pious singers  
 verse thus with the cry / Of Hail! have sung loud hymns to thee,  
 "Indra, to gain a stall of Kine."

GELDNER: "Und nun mögen die Opfernden unter Svāh̄ruf dem  
 then he sa Abschen deines Wunsches entsprechen. Die Preislieder  
 haben (dir) Indra den Drang eingeschrien, die  
 Rinderherde zu verschenken."

LUDWIG translates the latter portion thus:

"lauten schall die sänger gesungen O Indra, um  
 All others des rinderstalles schenkung halber."

OLDENBERG ('Noten' under VIII, 63, 5) suggests that varasya in  
 the first line is parallel to gotrasya in the second, and both  
vara and gotra are Genitive in the sense of Accusative and he  
 says gotram dā can be compared to varam dā.

SĀYANA's rendering of gotrasya into dhanasya is actually  
go-samudāya-rūpa-dhanasya. Hence in this instance gotra seems  
 to have not the meaning "stall of Kine" (unless it is "a stall-  
 :ful of Kine,") nor "the mountain" and even not probably "the  
 cloud," because with dāvane it should have the meaning "rain-  
 :water" (of course so far as the poeticism of the Vedic poets  
 are concerned, such a figurative use of "cloud" for "rainwater"  
 would not be so unlikely.)

(b) gotrā with a noun in the Dative case is found in X, 49, 2:

ahām indro ródho vákso átharvanas

tritāya gā ajanayam áher ádhi /

ahām dasyubhyah pári nrmnam á dade

gotrā síksan dadhícé mātariśvane //

SĀYANA explains c, the main clause in the second half of the verse thus:

SĀYANA in "aham - upakṣapayitr̥bhyah śatrubhyah also as "for the sake of sakāśāt - dhanam ādattavān asmi"; later in the cloud then he says: (raise him from the well where he fell down.)"

But already "Kim Kurvan / gotrā gavām undkānām raksakān is mentioned to meghān śikṣan vinayan / Kimartham / mātariśvane killing him mātariśvanah putrāya dadhīce etannāmakāya rṣaye varsakāmāya pravarṣayitum icehan /

All others interpret the line differently.

GRIFFITH: "I stripped the Dasyus of their manly might and gave the cattle-stalls to Mātariśvan and Dadhyach."

LUDWIG: "von den Dasyu namich die mannskraft hinweg und verlih dem Dadhyank Mātariśvan die rinderställe."

GELDNER: "Ichnakm den Dasyus die Manneskraft weg um ihre Kuhherden dem Dadhyance dem Mātariśvan Zuzuwenden."

The main point of difference with SĀYANA is not only in the meaning of gotrā but also in the meaning of Śikṣan.

In I, 132, 4, "herds of cows" and not "the clouds."

(c) In VIII, yād āmgirobhyo 'vr̥norāpa find colour in vrajām indra śikṣannāpa vrajām.

With the last vrajām SĀYANA interpreted there:

"Kimca he indra vrajām gavām samūham apa ayastṛbhyo 'pahṛtya tebhya evāngirobhyah śikṣan vitaran raksitavānasi."

The present instance can be interpreted similarly. There is besides no apparent relation between the snatching out of nṛmna/.....

nr̥mna from the Dasyus and the raining for the sake of  
Dadhyañc Mātariśvan.

SĀYANA interpreted tritāya gā ajanayam āherādhi also as "for  
the sake of Trita Āptya, I Indra, produced water in the cloud  
(in order to raise him from the well where he fell down.)"

But already in X, 8, 8 and 9, Trita urged on by Indra is men-  
tioned to have released the cows of the Son of Tvaṣṭr by  
killing him:

"Sá ... índresita āptyo abhyāyndhyat

.....tvāṣṭrasya cinnih sasrje trito gāh // (8)

".....tvāṣṭrasya cidviśvárūpasya gonām

ācakraṇāstrīni śīrsā parā vark // (9)

Hence in b. of the verse under discussion, Indra might have  
been saying: "Für Trita trieb ich vom Drachen die Kühe al"  
according to GELDNER or "I brought forth Kine to Trita from the  
Dragon's grasp" according to GRIFFITH. This seems to have been  
repeated in d. again, after saying that these wealth of cows  
are snatched away from the Dasyus. Thus in all probability  
"gotrā" is the "herds of cows" and not "the clouds."

(c) In VIII, 50, 10 which is the second Vālahilya hymn, we  
find gotram is unconnected with any verb:

yāthā Kānve maghavan médhe

adhvaré dīrghānīthe dāmūnasi /

tāthā gósarye āsisāso

adrivo māyi gotrām harisriyam //

The second line is explained in 'Vālahilya-Sūkta-Chāṣyam'

thus:/.....



thus:

"he adrivah vajrivan (?) indra .... yathā ca  
gōsarye ettannāmake rsau megham dattavān asi tathā  
mayi pustigan harisriyam gotram dehi /yathā  
tayoranugrahadrstyā meghavrstim Krtavānasi tathā  
mayyapi Kṛpādrstyā abhilaṣita vrstim Kurvityabhiprāyah //"

The name of the seer of this hymn is pustiguh, son of Kanva - the deity is as in all other instances, Indra.

"Harisriyam gotram" is explained here as:

"harih jagattāpatartrī haritavarnā vā Śrīh  
jalalaksmīryasya tādrsam / gotram megham."

"asiśāsah" in the sense of "dattavānasi" is connected with "yathā Kanve", as with "yathā go sarye." Adhvare, dīrghanīthe and damūnasi are explained by him as adjectives of Kanve.

GRIFFITH translates: "As, Maghavan, to Kanva at the sacred feast to Dīrghanītha, thine homefriend, As to Gosarya thou StoneOdarter gavest wealth, give me a bright stall of Kine."

GELDNER translates: "Wie du für Kanva, O Freigeiger, bei Opfer (und) Gottesdienst, für Dīrghanītha den Hausherrn, wie du für Gosarya, du Herr des Presssteins, (den Preis) Zu gewinnen trachtetest, (so gewinne) für mich die Rinderherde, die durch falbe Rosse verschönert wird!"

GELDNER makes a note with the second hemistich of the second line of this verse "D.h. Rinder, mit denen Zugleich auch Rosse geschenkt werden."

LUDWIG's /.....

LUDWIG's translation is: *at Vālakhilya hymn the last but one*

*hymn has* "wie du mit Kanva, Maghavan, beim kochopfer von  
langer verrichtung, bei dem hausfreundlichen, /  
*which is* wie mit Gosarya zu gewinnen du bestrebt warst,  
*but also* steinbewerter, so (gib) mir den stall mit  
*anunasya* derfalben herlichkeit." *the happiness comprising*

GRIFFITH and GELDNER consider Dīrgha<sup>n</sup>ītha as the name of another, which is however not found elsewhere, but Gosarya is the name of a seer who is protected by the Asvins as said in VIII, 8, 20:

*the two* "yābhiḥ k̄anvam medhātithim yābhirvāsam dasavrajam  
*cattle and* yābhir ḡsaryam āvatam tābhirno' vatam narā / "

where Asvins are said to have protected Gosarya, Vāsa, Dasavraja, Kanva and Medhātithi.

As in the present verse which is the concluding one of the second Vālakhilya hymn, in the concluding hymn of the first Vālakhilya hymn also, the similar idea regarding Gosarya is found, with which we may compare the present instance.

*SKYANA* "yathā Kanve maghavan trasadasyavi  
yathā pakthe dasavraje /  
yathā gosarye asanor r̄jīsvanī -  
-nora gomaddhiranyavat // " (V, 49, 10)

The seer of this hymn is Praskanva, and here besides Kanva and Gosarya, the favoured ones are Trasadasyu, Paktha, R̄jīsvan and Dasavraja (Kanva, Gosarya and Dasavraja are favoured by Asvins also (VIII, 8, 20).)

In both these instances asanoh and asiśāsoh (in the sense of dattavānasi) are connected with the Locative forms of Kanva, Gosarya/.....

Gosārya etc. In the first Vāḷakhilya hymn the last but one hymn has in the first line:

etāvatasta īmaḥa īndra sumnāsya gomataḥ /

which is connected with not only the second line of that verse but also both the lines of the concluding verse. gomataḥ sumnāsya īmaḥe denotes "We pray for the happiness comprising (i.e. derived from) (the possession of) cows" - Vāl. 1 has yathā .... asanoḥ .... gomaddhiranyavat while Vāl. 2 has yathā .... asisāso .... gotram harisriyam. The similarity between the two is quite evident and gotram probably signifies a herd of cattle and harisriyam may be "the wealth of gold."

(d) The only remaining instance of the occurrence of gotra in RV. is found in a hymn to Usas in VI, 65, 5:

idā hi ta uṣo adrisāno

gotrā gāvām āngiraso gr̥ṇanti /

vy arkēna bibhidur brāhmaṇā cā

Satyā nṛṇām abhavad devahūtiḥ //

SĀYANA explains: "he uṣo adrisāno ādrtasāno tava prasādāt idā

hi sadya eva gāvām gotrā saṃghān āngiraso gr̥ṇanti

utsrjanti / .... arcanīyena brahmaṇā stotreṇa vi

bibhidraḥ tamāmsi vidārayanti ca / netrṇām teṣām

āngirasām devahūtiḥ devaviṣayā stutīḥ satyā satyaphalā

abhavat /

The first line is translated thus by

GRIFFITH: "O Dawn, who standest on the mountain ridges Āngirases now praise thy stalls of cattle."

by GELDNER: "Denn zu dieser Sturde, O Usas, die du auf Berges höhen/....

höhen wohnst preisen die Angiras' deine Kuh herden."

and by LUDWIG: "hier, O Usas, die du auf des Berges rücken

stehst, preisen die Angiras deine rinderställe."

They are more or less alike except that GELDNER calls it

"Kuhhviden" while LUDWIG and GRIFFITH translate into "stalls of cattle."

V. Mādhava paraphrases the verse thus:

"idanīm / te / usah / ādyamānam (suggested by SARUP ādriyamānam)  
ucchritadese / gavāmasvabhūtānām / nāmāni / stotraparā āngirasah /  
grṇanti / bibhiduscāndhakāram / haviṣā / stotreṇa / ca tvām  
paricarantastathā tvayyuditāyām / satyaḥ / bhavati / manusyānām  
vajñah /

but gotrā has been explained by him as nāmāni rather confusedly

which is decided by a later meaning of the word and on the whole

his explanation is not satisfactory. SĀYANA in his explanation

considers the occurrence of gotrā gavām here similar to that of

gavām gotram in II, 23, 18 and he refers to it and explains

grṇanti as utsrjanti, the meaning of which as we have seen vary-

ing in the annotating of SĀYANA in II, 23, 18 (where it is

equivalent to nirgamayanti) and III, 39, 4 (where it is equiv-

alent to dadati.) As āngirasah is the subject of the verb here

the meaning of grṇanti can not be dadati without a forced

explanation to justify it. The meaning nirgamayanti here of

course does not require a forced explanation, and with this

meaning of the verb, the word gotrā its object satisfactorily

denotes SĀYANA's rendering gavām samghān. With the European

scholars' rendering of grṇanti also which is generally "praise,"

gotrā /.....



"With gotrā may denote gavām samghān. "The stalls of the cattle" is another not a good rendering unless we understand by it "the stallfuls of cattle." If gotrā would denote "enclosure or block up of the Kine" as sometimes it seems to have denoted with the verb meaning "to break, destroy," the meaning would not be happy with to grnanti signifying either "praise" or "let out." The second line would also have a good sense with gotrā as gavām samghān, as it has been said that by the radiant or eulogising hymn the cows were liberated from the clutch of the enemies i.e. by the hymns, the god Indra specially was propitiated who liberated the cows from their confinements. Now whether these cows in the present instance are the same as that liberated by Indra or different can not be said definitely. If they are different they may be figuratively the rays of light in the Dawn "the cows of Usas." and in the second line it symbolically may have signified the simultaneous action of the invocation to the goddess and the coming out of the light of Dawn from the darkness, which are further poetically ascribed as one the cause of the other. This meaning is quite satisfactory and we can quote for comparison RV. IV, 1, 13 (cd)

āsma-vrajāḥ suduhā vavre are the breaker of mountains  
antār udusrā ājannuśaso huvānāḥ //

"(For Usas) drove they with loud call

The unsaturation of praising the cows of Usas as it is generally interpreted Dawn's teeming milch Kine hid in the mount." - (GRIFFITH) and VI, 17, 6 (cd)

aurṇodūra usriyābhyo ví dr̥hó  
dūrvādḡā asrjo āṅgirasvān //  
 "With /.... of the mountain, these gotras of cows are all yours."

"With Āngirases he set free the cattle for the morning." - (GRIFFITH)  
 Another question arises as to why the word gotrā if it already denotes  
 "the herd of cattle" should again take gavām. The question may be  
 evaded by adducing the cause to 'metre.' But it may be said that  
 the Āngirases sing the praise of the herd of all the cows that belong<sup>1</sup>  
 to Usas specially when the cows are figurative for the rays of light.  
 Laying emphasis on "all the cows" we can say, the mention of gavāna  
 may have been necessary and it is not redundant, although we can not  
 ignore the possibility that gotra might have already got the general  
 sense of "group" from the sense of "the herd of cattle" so that an  
 explicit mention of gavām was necessary to signify the "groups of  
 cattle" as GRASSMANN probably thinks (WRV, §.V.)

(iv) (a) gotrabhīd occurring in VI, 17, 2:

sā īm pāhi yā rjīsi tārutro  
yāh śipravān/ṛṣabho yō matīnām /  
yō gotrabhīd vajrabhīd yō hariṣṭhāh  
sā indra citrā abhī trndhi vājān //

is explained by SĀYANA as "gotrānām parvatānām meghānām vā" and  
 by V. MĀDHAVA as "meghānām bhetā." WILSON following SĀYANA  
 translates the word here into "who are the breaker of mountains  
 ..." GRIFFITH /...

<sup>1</sup> The unlikelihood of praising the cows of Usas as it is generally inter-  
 :preted often leads us to think that gr̥ṇanti may have some different mean-  
 :ing. But with the same meaning of the word, we can interpret construing  
 differently: "(he) usas adrisāno idā hite gotrā gavām, (iti) āngiraso  
gr̥ṇanti", "hē" being considered a 'copula' between idā and te ... gotrā  
gavām and the meaning of the line is "The Āngirases praise, O usas stand-  
 :ing at the valley of the mountain, these gotras of cows are all yours."

GRIFFITH into "Render of Kine-stalls." LUDWIG into "der spaltet den rinderstall" and GELDNER into "der Kuhbergspatter." All the interpreters generally hold gotra here as a mountain, stated or not to be an obstacle for the cows, cleft by Indra.

(b) gotrabhidam in II. 23, 3

ā vivādhyā parirāpastāmāsi ca  
īyotiśmantam rathamrtāsyā tiṣṭhasi /  
brhaspate bhīmam amitradāmbhanam  
rakṣohanam gotrabhidam svarīdam //

is explained by SĀYANA as meghānām bhattāram and by V. MĀDHAVA as meghabhidam. WILSON translates into "the cleaver of the clouds." GRIFFITH into "that ... cleaves the stall of Kine." LUDWIG into "den erbrecher des rinderstalls." HILLEBRANDT into "den Kuhstall spaltet" and GELDNER into: "die Kuhhöhle aufsprengt." Thus SĀYANA does not consider gotra here as "the mountain" and GELDNER also differs in his interpretation viz. Kuhhöhle for Kuhberg.

(c) In X, 103, 6 (a,d)

gotrabhidam govidam vajrabānum  
.....indram sakṛāyo anu sām rabhadhvam //

gotrabhidam is explained by SĀYANA as

"gā udakāni trāyanti meghāh / yadvā / gaur bhūmih /  
tām trāyanta iti gotrāh parvatāh /

GRIFFITH translates the word by "cleaver of stalls," LUDWIG by "den stall erbrecher," GELDNER by "Der die Kuhställe aufsprengt." Govidam is explained by SĀYANA as 'udakasya labdhāram' GRIFFITH translates/.....

translates into "Kine winner," GELDNER into "die Rinder ausfindig," thus having a sequential connection of gotrabhidam with govidam.

(v) The general meaning given by the Indian commentators is "the cloud." Except once in (i - f) V. MĀDHAVA invariably gives the meaning of gotra as "megha". SĀYANA also gives this meaning to all occurrences except in (i - f) (i - e) (i - l) and (i - n), although besides the meaning megha he suggests alternative meanings in (i - a) (i - b) (ii - d) and (iv - a). The other meaning given by V. MĀDHAVE and SĀYANA except in (i - b) and (iv - a) is gavām samūha. This meaning however agrees with GELDNER's suggestion "herd of cattle," which is almost generalised by him - the exception being found in (ii - a) and (ii - d) (iv - c) which he interprets by "Kuhstalle" and the word in (iv - a) and (iv - b) he renders into "Kuhberg" and "Kuhhöle". The conception of a hill blocking up the ways of the cows meant for keeping them confined which is in GELDNER's "Kuhberg" is found in SĀYANA's alternative meaning suggested in (i - b):

"... panishirapahr̥tānām gavām āvarakamparvatam"

LUDWIG and GRIFFITH almost in all instances translate the word gotra by "cowstall" which is not satisfactory in all cases. HILLEBRANDT and BERGAIGNE also in certain instances translate the word into "Kuhstall" and "l'étable" respectively. That the word cannot be the "cowstall" in the general sense of the term is evident from the context, where the gotra is pierced, or broken as in (ii - c), (ii - d) the gotra is given over, as in (iii - a), (iii - c) etc., and also from the presence of a word gostha in the sense of "the cowstall" (to be discussed) in Bks. I and X as also in Bks. VI and VIII of the RV. If gotra is a cowstall it is the fold of cattle of the enemy which is laid/....



laid open or the enclosure of which is broken, or the stall-ful of cattle is bestowed by the gods to the favoured ones. Even if gotra is translated into only "a cowstall of the enemy" it has to be explained further in two more ways to fit itself with the different contexts, viz.

(1) the enclosure or the blockings of the fold which are broken up, and (2) the cattle the contents of the cowstall. Hence a cowstall is not the true denotation of the word. It would be just a synonym which leads one into confusion if it is not properly explained. In (i) of our discussion gotra as an object of apa -vr-air- and ut-srj- suggests "the collection of cattle confined in a place." Besides GELDNER, we have seen SĀYANA also in some instances rendered the word into either "gavām samūha" or "the cloud." "The cloud" brings in the same difficulty as "the cowstall," because it has to be explained as "the water in the cloud, i.e. "the content of the cloud." The poeticism of R̥gveda is found so advanced that such a metonymic expression (especially with the verb air- and utsrj-) is not unexpected.

In the case of (ii) however the meaning "cloud" as suggested by SĀYANA and V. MĀDHAVA can be taken as the proper meaning of the word gotra. The European scholars in general disregard it as they may have thought that it has no connection with go meaning "cow," and the Indian interpreters find the etymology of the word connected with go meaning "water" which the European scholars generally ignore. But the meaning "cloud" might have been developed in the minds of the Vedic poets, when Vr̥tra myth is conceived, the demon being killed by Indra/... equal to the poetic mind of the R̥gvedic seers to whom such a metaphor was quite easy.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning "cloud" may on the other hand be suitable as suggested by Indian interpreters in these examples discussed under (ii)

Indra with his thunderbolt, letting free the cows which are metaphorical for rainwaters.<sup>1</sup> GELDNER's meaning of "the herd of cows" is very much unsuitable<sup>2</sup> with the context in the examples under (ii). Hence he deviates from his usual translation in examples (ii - a) and (ii - c); in (ii - b) and (ii - d) the verb he understands to be not of the meaning of "breaking" (ādardhi and Kṣayati.) These verbs are explained by some as "piercing" and "destroying." The other verbs in (ii) are in (a) rujan and in (c) abhi gāhamānaḥ which have the sense of "breaking" and "penetrating." Gotra in connection with these verbs may also denote "the enclosure of the detained cows" as may have been suggested by the meaning "cowstall." The examples in (iii), except (d), although mostly rendered by SĀYANA into megha seem to have signified "the collection of cows" as the word is connected with verbs dāvane (with genitive case of the word), Śikṣan (in the sense of probably "distributing") asiśāsaḥ (in the sense of "gave"). The example in (iii) (d) may be the "collection of cows" or it may be "the rays of the light freed from darkness" spoken with metaphor. As remarked by MACDONELL (VR., p. 83) "With the release of/...

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<sup>1</sup> PETERSON (SHR(2), 1922) argues that instead of bringing down rain, Indra rather melted the snow on the mountains, with which the people of the R̥gveda were more concerned than with the rain, sending down the rivers into the plain. He thinks that the identification of parvata with megha was considerably advance of the stage at which we find the alamkāras were employed in RV. But we think that the cloud pierced by the thunder bursting into downpours although not so necessary for them as they were not agricultural people must have been a great marvel to the poetic mind of the R̥gvedic seers to whom such a metaphor was quite easy.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning "cloud" may on the other hand be suitable as suggested by Indian interpreters in these examples discussed under (ii)

of the waters" (of the cloud)"is connected the winning of light, sun and dawn." 'Nighantu' gives sixty synonyms of the "beams of light" with gau in I, 5, although gau is included in the twenty-one names of the Earth (I, 1) six common names of the sky (I, 4) fifty-seven names of Speech (I, 11) and thirteen names of invokers (III, 16) also. The word gotra in gotrabhid is explained by SĀYANA generally as "cloud", once only an alternative meaning of "the rock" is suggested.

The meaning megha (cloud) of the word gotra cannot be denied and it was only a figurative employment of the word that may have given this meaning. But the primary sense of the word seems to be "the collection of the cows or cattle" which no doubt is the meaning in the examples under (iii) and the meaning "cloud" is not suitable here.

Gotra in examples under (iii) and (i) seems to denote "the collection of cows confined by the enemy." The word under (ii) appears to be "the barrier or enclosure behind which the cows were kept confined or concealed," and these cows might be either actual when it referred to the Valamyth, or they might be figurative when it referred to the Vrtra-myth, the barrier might then be "the rock guarding the way out of the cows" or "the enclosure for keeping the cows in it" or it might be "the clous." We have seen in our discussion how Valamyth might have been mostly suggested. The citations in (i) could be justified with the meaning "the cloud" also. The examples in (iv) also show Indra breaking the gotra which may be "the rock or any barrier for the cows." In these cases, gotra is used in the sense "the barrier, rock or enclosure guarding the confined cows from their coming out," in which case we find the etymology of the word to be derived from go with the verb trāi (guard, protect, etc.) This meaning/.....

meaning seems to be etymological and secondarily developed on account of its apparent connection with go and trā(i). This etymology was conceived before the word could be employed in this sense. The etymology of the word in the primary sense however was not clear because the use of words in their primary meanings came earlier than while any etymology could be thought of. Pānini has to make a special aphorism (IV, 2, 57) (already noted) for the rather unusual suffix of -tra in the sense of samūha (gavām samūha) which was the conventional meaning of the word at the time of RV. The secondary meaning "the blocking of the cow," "the cow-guard" came into being when the etymological effort of the Vedic people found out this meaning. A third meaning also developed when "the cloud" was metaphorically conceived as "the locked up place of the rainwaters." As "the place of confinement with a guarding rock or the like for the cows" was a secondary meaning, the meaning of "cloud" seems to be tertiary. The meaning "hill" or "mountain" of the word, as a result of generalisation of meaning of "the guarding rock meant for the confined cows" seems to be much later.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> As the Indian etymologists did not study the historical change of the meanings of words, they did not consider the secondary meaning of the word as "the rock or barrier guarding the cows to come out" but took up the first tertiary meaning "cloud" and the second tertiary meaning "mountain" and explained etymologically. Under III, 43, 7 SĀYANA gives the etymology "gāmudakam raśmibhirāvṛtam (ṣhṛtam) varṣāsv ṛtusu trāyante pālayantīti gotraḥ meghāḥ /! train pālāne" ityasya "āto' nupasarge Kah" iti kah /" This explanation follows that of the 'Nirukta', where it is also said "gāmpasujatim trāyate vā vr̥ṣṭyā pāṇīyapradānāt /" SĀYANA under I, 51, 3 gives another etymology: guṇ avyakta-sabde (Bhvādi) gudhrvīpacivaciyami (mani-tani) sadiskṣadibhyas traḥ (unādi 4, 162). To justify the sense of "mountain" the etymology of gotra is thus sought: "parvato'pi nirjharādīpatana janyam avyaktamsabdam Karoti, abhivṛṣṭam udakam udakadhāreṣu dhāraṇād rakṣati ca"



Indra as gotrabhid was probably considered "the piercer of the rocky obstruction (for the cows" or "the piercer of the cloud.")

From the primary meaning, however, there is a tendency of generalisation viz. from the sense of "collection of cows" the sense of "collection (in general)" Gavām gotram in II. 23,18 and gotrā

gavām in VI, 65, 5 leads us to doubt if that meaning has been

developed at this stage so that gavām has to be used in addition to gotra to state explicitly that a collection of cows is meant to be expressed, or for any other reason. In the absence of any positive evidence about it, it is not possible to push the following assumption of KANE to a definite assertion that in RV. age gotra denoted

"a group of men".<sup>1</sup>

"From this last sense of 'an assemblage or group' the transition to the meaning of 'a group of persons' is both easy and quick.

(1) Though there is no positive use of the word gotra in the Rgveda in the sense of 'descendants of a common ancestor,' it will be plain from the remarks to be made later on that the conception underlying the idea of gotra was quite familiar even in the age of the Rgveda. .... The argument from silence cannot reasonably be pushed so far as to assert that the word gotra had not come to mean in the Rgvedic age 'a group of men' " - JBBRAS (11),

1935 p.5

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<sup>1</sup> We cannot accept D. D. Kosambi's article in JAOS, (73) p. 202 that gotra means a group of human beings associated with the herd as a unit - the common owners of a herd of cattle. The novelty of the theory at once strikes the mind, but gotra never stood clearly for the herd of the cow as a unit in the RV. or in the later texts and the theory is based on a large amount of assumption.

(LANKAN's note: "The stalls, namely in which the Kins are shut up by the Asuras.")

B. Gotra in AV: is RV. I, 103, 7 repeated with some variations, such

In Av. gotra singly occurs in four verses in (Śau) and in three verses in (Pai) (Two in AV, (Śau) are the same verse, just repeated.)

All the Śau verses are wholly or partly repeated RV verses. Of the Pai verses, two are repeated RV verses, which along with the three ŚAU verses have reference to Indra. The new verse in Pai is addressed to Soma. In AV (ŚAU) a new compounded word formed with gotra occurs in a new verse addressed to the wardrum. This example is very important as it points out to the probability of a semantic change of the word leading to its later denotation of a particular kind of social group.

(i) (a) AV (ŚAU) XX, 77, 8 (cd):

sá no netá vājamā darsi bhūrim  
gotrā rujānāmgirobhir grṇānāh

("... Hymned by Angirases, bursting the cowstalls, thou foundest ample strength for us as leader" - GRIFFITH)

It is RV. IV, 16, 8 repeated.

(b) AV (ŚAU) XIX, 13, 7, (Pai) VII, 4, 7 (first line):

abhi gotrāni sāhasā gāhamāno  
'dāyā ugrāh satamanyur indrah

("Piercing the cowstalls, with surpassing vigour, Indra, the pitiless hero, wild with anger ...." - GRIFFITH)

("Plunging with power into the cowstalls, Indra pitiless ... formidable." - WHITNEY)

(LANMAN's note: "The stalls, namely in which the Kine are shut up by the Asuras.")

This verse is RV. X, 103, 7 repeated with some variations, such as for RV. adayah, it is adāyah, for vīrah it is ugrah here, which are insignificant.

In the explanation of the AV. verse also SĀYANA differs.

Instead of "abhrāni meghān valena prāvāṇīsan" he explains the first 'hemistich of the line here as "goh udakasya trāṇi trāyakāni yuddhaksetrāni vā balena ābhimukhyena praviśan ..."

SĀYANA's explanation of gotrāni as yuddhaksetrāni is however not convincing. As the RV. verse of prayer for aid and protection in battle is repeated in AV. with the same object, the meaning of the word gotrāni apparently requires no change. As we have seen in the discussion of gotra in RV. the two instances of gotra above appear to stand for either "cloud", if the Vrtra myth is alluded to, or "the rock or blocking up of the cows made by the enemies" if the Vala myth is alluded to.

(c) AV (Śau) V. 2, 8 and XX, 107, 11, (Pai) VI, 1, 8: (second line)

mahó gotrāsyā Kṣayati svarājā (/svarājo)

tūrascid víśvam arṇavat tãpasvān  
(/dūrasca víśvā avṛṇod ápa svāḥ)

The verse is repeated RV X, 120, 8. AV (Pai) keeps the RV. line absolutely unchanged, while AV (Śau) changes from svarājo to apa svāḥ in RV, to svarājā tūrascid víśvam arṇavat tãpasvān

GRIFFITH: "Free lord, he rules the mighty fold of cattle,

winning aglow, even all the billowy waters."

(translation of V, 2, 8 of AV (Śau))

"He /..... of the rock or obstruction for the cows/....

"He rules the great self luminous fold of cattle and  
all the doors of light hath he thrown open"

(translation of XX, 107, 11 cd) (The latter is

(11) (a) AV. (exactly the same translation as that of the RV verse)

WHITNEY: "... he rules an autocrat, over the great stall (gotrá);  
may he, quick (?tura) rich in fervor, send (?) all."

(LANMAN notes that the fourth pāda is "plainly a  
gross corruption of the RV. text.)

The alteration involving so many words on the other hand seems to  
be deliberate with a view to express some different idea.

WHITNEY's translation seems to be near to the idea of the  
changed expressions but the meaning of maho gotrasya Ksayati  
may be the same as in RV. "destroys the great cloud" or "destroys  
the great rock preventing the cows from their coming out" or  
"rules over the great herd of cows" (as Indra is often called  
gopati, but in all probability gopati may be interpreted as  
"lord of the earth," etc. as various meanings of go are dev-  
eloped. referred to in the Kaushika Sūtra (IV, 2) in connection

From the instances of gotrā gavām etc. in RV. we have discussed  
the possibility of the word gotra having a generalisation of  
its primary meaning - viz. "the collection of cows" to "the  
collected band" in general. If it is so, in the present

instance of AV. maho gotrasya Ksayati may have the sense "Indra  
ruler over the great host (viz. the collection of all beings.)

This is not unlikely because we find the word visva gotrya in  
AV. (Śau) where gotra appears to have not the sense of "the  
collection of cattle" or of "the rock or obstruction for the  
cows/....



cows confined by the enemy" or of "the cloud" or of "the mountain."

"the rocky block-up for the cattle confined by the enemy,"

(ii) (a) AV, (Pai) I, 51, 3:

tvam soma divyo nṛcaṣās sugā /

asmabhyam patho'nu gaccha /

abhi no gotram viduṣīva (?) neṣo

acchā no vācam usatim jigāsi //

(O Soma, do thou who art divine and supervisest men show to us easy paths, mayst thou lead towards us speech that is fond of us.)

Although the meaning of "viduṣīva neṣo" is obscure, the gotram here is clearly not in the sense of "mountain," "cloud" or "the rocky obstruction for the detained cows" etc. It may have the denotation of "the collection of cattle," better "the collection (of people)" especially as it is connected with nah (no gotram, may have denoted "our host or collection.") This verse is referred to in the Kausika Sūtra (IV, 2) in connection with the description of the "Darsa Paurṇa - māsa".

(b) AV. (Śau) V, 21, 3:

vānaspatyah sambhrta usṛiyābhir visvagoṭryah /

pratrāsām amītrebhyo vadājyenābhīdhāritah //

("Made of forest tree, brought together with ruddy kine, belonging to all the families, speak thou alarm for our enemies, being smeared with sacrificial butter" - WHITNEY.)

This is said about the war drum. visvagoṭryah seems to denote "belonging to gotras." WHITNEY's translation is based on the assumption/.....

assumption that it has already attained the later meaning of 'family.' That it has not the sense of "collection of cattle," "the rocky block-up for the cattle confined by the enemy," "the cloud" or "the mountain" does not prove that gotra has attained the sense of family. Rather if the process of semantic change is followed step by step there is a possibility that the primary meaning of gotra viz. "the collection of cows" has by generalisation of meaning developed to "the collection of all beings." Visvagotryah as a compound for visvebhyah gotrebhyah hitah - "doing good for all the collections of all beings, or for all who live together in groups" may be the possible meaning. Thus we may have an intermediate stage of the shift of meaning from "the collection of cows" to "the collection of men related by blood etc." "The collection of cows" generalised to "the collection of all kinds of all beings" may have been further specialised to the meaning of "the collection of men." then "the collection of men related by blood etc." With this we can compare RV VI, 47, 29 (ab) where also it is said about the wardrum:

upa svāsaya prthivīmuta dyām purutrā te manutām  
viṣṭhitam jagat

("Send forth thy voice aloud through earth and heaven and let the world in all its breath regard thee." - GRIFFITH)

Where jagat is explained by SĀYANA as sthāvaram jaṅgamam cobhayabidham prāṇijātam, by MAHIDHARA as sthāvarajaṅgamātmakam visvam, UVATA, DURGA and SKANDASVĀMIN (in his annotation on 'Nirukta') take viṣṭhita in the sense of sthāvāra and jagat in the /.....

the sense of jaṅgama. Thus here in AV. (Śau) viśvagotrya may stand for "good for all forming one community" (i.e. viśvā-tmakāya gotrāya hitam) or for "good for the whole group of men joining or interested in the flight against a host of common enemies" (i.e. viśvasmai gotrāya hitam.) On the other hand if it is taken in the sense of what WHITNEY suggests<sup>1</sup>, the wardrum belonging to all the families, a presumption is made which is not supported by any evidence.

(iii) Hence in AV., besides a few instances in the repeated verses of RV. there are two new uses of the word gotra which possibly signify a collection of men (in general) or "a collection of men for some purpose like fight with a common enemy."

#### C. Gotra in YV.

(i) (a) abhi gotrāni sāhasā gāhamānah etc. and gotrabhīdam govīdam vajrabāhum etc. are RV. lines (X, 103, 7 and 6) which are quoted in YV (TS. IV, 6, 4, 2; VS. (Mā) XVII, 39 and 38; MS II, 10, 4; Kap S. XXVII, 5; KS XVIII, 5) with reference to Indra.

(b) RV. II, 23, 3 having:

ā vivādhyā ... rakṣohānam gotrabhīdam svarvidam  
is repeated in KS XXVI, 11.

(c) In MS. IV, 14, 12 "...ā te mahó yó jātā evābhi gotrāni //" embodies quotations from RV. VII, 25, 1 ā te maho, II, 12, 1 yo jāta eva and X, 103, 7 abhi gotrāni - etc.

<sup>1</sup> Bloomfield's translation, "Made of wood, equipped with the skin of the cow, at home with every clan, put thou with thy voice, terror into the enemies when thou hast been anointed with ghee" appears better than WHITNEY's but in respect of gotra it is not again satisfactory.

- (ii) (a) In KS X, 13 also in MS IV, 12, 4, and TSII, 13, 14, 4  
(with some v.l.) we find in the second line:

sahasrākṣó gotrabhíd vajratsāhur

asmāsu devó draviṇam dadhātu //

referring to Indra, who is praised.

- (b) In KS XXXVIII, 6 which is equivalent to VS (Mā) XX, 38  
in the second line we notice:

purandaro gotrabhid vajrabāhur

āyātu vajñak upa no juṣānāh

In both these instances which are not exact repetitions of RV.  
verses, there is echo of RV. expressions as in RV. VI, 17, 2  
there is:

yó gotrabhíd vajrabhṛd yó haristhāh

Regarding purandara GRIFFITH notes:

"Splitting the cloud castles of the demons of drought,"

and regarding gotrabhid he notes:

"Opener of the stores of fertilizing rain."

In any case in these instances, no new sense appears to have  
been attached to the word gotra but there is one instance in  
MS & KS which may have denoted "a group of people."

- (iii) KS XXV, 10 and MS III, 8, 9:

"visvajanasya chāyāsīti chadirabhinidadhāti

gotrād gotrād dhi (etat sam - (KS) ) prasarpanti."

("You are a cover for all the people' saying this he sets up a shed,  
they indeed approach it from every gotra!" Here the meaning of

gotra



gotra may be the group of people having ritual differences.

#### D. Gotra in Khilas.

(i) In RV. Khilas there are one or two occurrences of the word gotra.

(a) In Khi III, 2, 10, "the asvinsuktendra, asvinsuktendra"

yāthā Kāṇve ..... māyi gotrām harisriyam //

the RV. verse VIII, 50, 10 is repeated.

(b) In Khi IV, 12, 2 (SCHEFTELOWITZ's Kashmir edition) gotre

is found in place of which there is goṣṭhe in Junagadh MS.

(as in KASHIKAR's edition) (Kashmir Edn. rdg. within brackets)

upamaitu mayobhūva (mayobhuvam) ūrjam

caujasca bibhratiḥ (pipratoḥ) /

dūhānā aksitam (akṣitim) pāyo māyi (mama)

goṣṭhe (gotre) nivartadhvam (nivisadhvam)

yāthā bhavāny (bhavāmy) uttamāḥ //

The reading goṣṭhe seems to be more acceptable as in the previous verse there is goṣṭhe

yāsām ūdhaścaturvilam mādhoḥ pāṇam ghṛtāśya ca /

tā nah santu pāyasvatēr bahvīrgoṣṭhé ghṛtācyah //

The RV. hymn X, 169 starting with "mayobhūr," the deity of which is "cow", has goṣṭha only and not gotra.

#### E. Gotra in the Brāhmanas

(i) In T Br. there are three instances of the word gotra - two of single gotra-s and the other of gotrabhid. But all of them are used as they were used in the Rgveda.

(a) T Br. III, 7, 11, 4 - 5:

ābhir gobhir yadato na ūnam /  
āpyāyaya harivo vardhamānaḥ yadā stotr̥bhyo  
mahi gotrā rujāsi bhūyisthabhājo adha te syama /

SĀYANA explains it thus: "he asvayuktendra, asmādīyastutibhiḥ

vardhamānaḥ tvam asmāt karmanāḥ ūnam āgam  
asmadartham abhivardhaya he harivan, yasminkāle  
stotrānugrahārtham mahi gotrā mahataḥ parvatān  
meghān vā rujāsi bhagnān karos: / atha tadā vayam  
te tavānugrhitāḥ prahūtadhanānām labdhāro bhūyasma /"

Here we find with rujāsi, gotrā has got the R̥gvedic meaning.

This is found repeated in Tār IV, 5, 6 and IV, 42, 5

(b) In T Br II, 8, 3, 3 is quoted RV. verses as in MS IV, 14, 12:

ā te maho yo jāta eva / abhi gotrāni sahasā gāhamāna  
iti puroḍāśasya puro' nuvākyā.

Here the RV. verse is quoted with RV. meaning as a sacrificial formula.

(c) In T Br. II, 5, 8, 1:

sa īm pāhi ya rjīṣā tarutrah yaḥ sipra - vānvr̥sabho  
yo matīnām yo gotrabhid vajrabhr̥d yo haristhāḥ sa  
indra citrā abhitrdhi vājān

SĀYANA explains: yastvam nispiditarasah (somavallībhāgah  
rjīṣah) duhkhebhyaḥ tārakah sa tvam imam savanam  
pālaya ..... parvatānām bhattā, ..... satrūnam  
annāni abhito vināsaya.

None/...

None of the examples here is important for the study of the developed meaning of the word gotra.

- (ii) In Kauś Br. XXV, 15: brāhmane samānagotre vased yat samāne gotre 'nnadyam tasyopāptyai samvatsaram atha samvesya/.....

It is said about one who has performed Visvajit sacrifice (in which everything of one's own is given over.) Here it is said that one having done so should stay with a Brahmins of the same gotra. This shows that there were different gotras for the Brahmins at least.

- (iii) In Ś Br III. 5, 3, 5 it is said: brāhmanāḥ vis vaḥ gotrāḥ - which may also signify that the Brahmins have among them all the gotras<sup>1</sup>

- (iv) In Pv Br. XVIII, 2, 12: sagotrāya brahmane deyaḥ somapīthasyāvyapohāya /  
(Camasa made of the udumbara is to be given as dakṣiṇā to a Sagotra Brāhmaṇa in order that the drinking of Soma is not fruitless) sagotra Brāhmaṇa denotes a Brahmin of the same gotra as his.

- (v) (a) In J Br. I, 13 .... taṁ hāgataṁ prcehati  
"Kastvam asi" iti/ sa yo ha nāmā vā gotrena vā  
pra brūte taṁ hāha "yas te' yam mayy ātmābhūd  
esa te saḥ iti /

(This is also found in JU Br III, 14, 1)

(He/....

<sup>1</sup> (SGAI) RAU believes that in this Ś Br. example as also in Kauś Br. and in the Pv Br. also the Brāhmaṇa comprises one gotra. But the meaning may be quite different. In Kauś Br. - as samānagotre is an adjective of brāhmane all the Brahmins do not seem to be of the same gotra.

(He asks him who has approached "Who are you?" Him who declares himself with his name or gotra, he says "Here is this of yours which was in me this of your self.") Here it is clear how one is introduced by his own name or the name of the gotra which may be the name of a forefather or a spiritual preceptor with which his genealogical line is connected as it is found in the late days.

(b) In J Br. II. 113

athaiṣa gosavaḥ / ... tasya vratam / upa mātaram  
iyād upa svasāram upa sagotrām /

The naming of the mother then of the sister then of the sagotrā shows the importance of the relation of a person by one's gotra which is next to mother and sister.

This is also found in Āp SrS. XXII, 13, 2.

In the Brahmanas therefore we find the use of gotra in the later sense except in T Br where the RV. use of it is found.

#### F. Gotra in the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads

(i) In the T Ār II, 6, 2:

ā rabhethām anusamrabhethām samānam panthām avatho ghrtena /  
yadvā pūrtam pariviṣṭam yad agnau tasmai gotrāyeha jayāpati  
saṁ rabhethām /

(You two keep on doing (the work) and safeguard the (virtuous) path common (to you both) with clarified butter; whatever pūrta (you have done) ("given food etc. to the fathers" - SĀYANA), whatever (oblation) you have served into the sacrificial fire, O husband and wife, you should/.....



should keep on doing the same for the gotra (i.e. the persons who belong to the gotra, apparently the genealogical line) )

The latter portion is explained by SĀYANA thus:

"yuvayoh yat pūrtam pitrbhyo dattamannādi yad agnau pari  
prāpitam havih tad avicehedam yathā kriyetetyevamartham  
samrabhetham tvaretham natu tushīmāsātham tacca gotrāya  
upayujyate, gotrasambhavāḥ pūrve pare ca ye santi tesām  
sarveśām idam anuṣṭhānam upayunkte."

The persons belonging to the gotra are not only the fathers but also the descendants i.e. people upward and downward in the genealogical line.

(ii) In Chā Up. IV, 4, 1:

satyakāmo ha jāvālo-javālām mātaram āmantrayāncakre  
brahmacaryam bhavati vivatsyāmi kimgotro'nvaham asmīti /  
sā hainam uvāca nāhametad veda tāta yadgotrastvam asi  
bahvahaṃ carantē paricāriniṃ yauvane tvāmalabhe  
sāhametanna veda yadgotrastvamasi / jabālā tu nāmāham asmi  
satyakāmo nāma tvamasi sa satyakāmo eva jāvālo bruvīthā iti /

The system of mentioning the gotra name beside one's own name is noticed in JB and JUB. From the above, Fick (Encycl. of Relig. & Ethics V, p. 354) draws an inference that the teacher could give a gotra to a student, which KANE criticises as less reasonable and he opines that this story in Ch. Up. is "no more than an ancient attempt to give an etymology of the word Jābāla as a gotra."<sup>1</sup> We can on the other hand infer that gotra was the name given to all relatives on the father's side, because Jabālā has given the gotra-name to his son according to her name quite exceptionally.

<sup>1</sup> JBBRAS (11); 1935 p. 9.

### G. Gotra in the Kalpasūtras:

In the Kalpasūtras, gotra is used definitely in the sense of a social group.<sup>1</sup> In a few occurrences there are quotations from RV. verse which does not have this developed meaning.

- (i) (a) Āp. ŚrS XVII, 21, 7 quotes RV. verse II, 23, 18:

tava śriye vyajihīta parvato gavām gotram udasrjo  
yadāṅgirah/ etc. after which it is said: brhaspate  
samajayadvasūni maho vrajān gomato deva esah / apah  
sisāsant suvarapratēto brhaspatir hantya amitram  
arkairiti tisro brahmasadane /

- (b) Āp ŚrS III, 12, 1 again repeats T Br. III, 7, 11, 4 - 5 where gotrā rujāsi is employed in the Rgvedic sense.

- (ii) For some ritualistic practices the mention of one's gotra-name was as essential as that of one's name.

- (a) ĀSvGrS IV, 4, 10 states:

yatrodakam avahad bhavati tat prāpya sakrd unmaj-  
yaikāñjalim utsvijya tasya gotram nāma ca  
grhītvottīyānīyāni vāsāmsi paridhāya ... āsata ...  
ānaksatradarsanāt.

- (b) In MSrs II, 1, 2, 23 in the Dikṣitavratam section under Agnistoma and in IX, 1, 2, 24 under Rājasiṁha chapter - it is said that the name is first mentioned, then the gotra is mentioned by saying "āmasyāyana."

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<sup>1</sup>"The Brahmanical gotra which persists with little modification to the present day, may be defined as an exogamous patrilineal sibship, whose members trace their descent back to a common ancestor" - BROUGH ("The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara, Cam. U. Press 1953 p.7)

(c) In the anāhitāgniḥ pramītaḥ-section under anugrahika chapter the rule of pindanidhāna by taking the name and gotra-name of the dead is stated in MŚrS VIII, 20, 8. In the same Śrūta Sūtra in XI, 9, 1, 6 it is said:

pavitre pāṇau pradāya nāmagotre samuccārya "mama

pitṛe esa te' rghyah pitāmaha prapitāmaheti /"

also in XI, 9, 3, 14:

"pitṛbhyah" iti datteṣu upaveśya kuśeṣu tām

and in XI, 9, 3, 28:

trayānām udakam kāryam triṣu pindaḥ pravartate /

ūrdhvam nāndimukham proktaṁ nāmagotrāpahāraṁ //

(d) In Gobh GrS II, 3, 11, - the bride is said to be shown the pole star after which she bows the guru (the husband) with (the mention of) her gotra.

(iii) The words samānagotra, nānagotra and sagotra, asagotra are found in these Sūtras in large number.

(a) ĀSVŚrS, uttarāṣṭaka, VI, 10 makes the following aphorisms:

(1) sarve samānagotrāḥ syur iti gānagāriḥ katham

hyāprīṣuktāni bhavedjuh katham prayājā iti //

(2) api nānagotrāḥ syuriti 'saunakastantrāṇām vyāpitvāt /

(3) grhapati - gotrānvayā viśeṣāḥ / etc.

In course of explaining the first, Gārgyanāranya, the commentator

(iv) first quotes from Baudhayana's pravara chapter the definition of gotra:

the sense of gotra "gotrasabdo 'patyam putra prabhrti gotram ityevam  
line of descent. pāribhāṣiko 'sti" and again "visvāmitro jamadagnir

(a) In bharadvājo 'tha gautamah atrir vasisthah kasyapa  
ity ete. saptarṣayo 'gastyaṣṭamānām yadapatyam tad  
gotram ityucyate." 19, 2 says gotra appears to have the

The commentator explains that in this Sūtra no distinction is  
made for the term gotra - it may denote the descendants from the  
grandson onwards or the group of people descending from anyone  
of the seven ṛsis or Agastya.

(b) nānā-gotrā in Bhā GrS II, 25:

(b) In athāsmā annam saṃskṛtya bhūtamiti vedayate / tata  
āha brāhmaṇāṃscaturo nānāgotrān bhojayati / teṣu  
bhuktavatsvannam āparanti/...

appears to have the use of gotra in the sense of ṛsi-gotra,  
the descendants of the eight ṛsi's mentioned.

(c) In M ŚrS III, 8, 3 in the dīksitadahanam section under  
prāyascittāni:

.... catvāro brāhmaṇā nānāgotrā udakāṃsyena  
dīksitamabhiśinceyur na punaḥ kuryāt,

where nānāgotra has the same sense as the preceding instance.

(d) In Āp ŚrS XXI, 3, 4 nānāgotravayavāyād eva samānāgotrānām  
ārṣeyavarānam abhyāvartetetyekam also gotra appears to have the  
the same sense.

(iv) As samānāgotra and nānāgotra are found to be used with a wide  
sense of gotra, sagotra and asagotra and have their uses mostly with  
the/...



the sense of gotra as the social group of persons related by the same line of descent.

(a) In Gobh GrS. III, 4, 3 asagotrān dārāṅkurvīta which has been said again in ĀpDhS II. 5, 11, 5 sagotrāya duhitaram na prayacehet. HirGrS. also I, 19, 2 says tābhyāmanujñāto bhāryām upayacchet sajātām nagnikām brahmacāriṇīm asagotram.

In M GrS. I, 7, 8 it is said similarly about asamāna-pravarām instead of asamānagotrām.<sup>1</sup>

Gau DhS III, 2 also says asamānapravarair vivāhah. The exogamous nature of gotra-group is evident here.

(b) In connection with the paradāra subject ĀpDhS in II. 27, 2 says: sagotrasthānōyān ca parebhyas samācaksati.

Commentator Haradatta Misra explains:

"bhartā tu sāksāt sagotrah tām sagotrasthāniyām na parebhyo 'sagotrebyas samācaksita - iyaṁ anapatyā asyām apatyam utpādayatām iti sagotrāyaiva tu samācaksita, tatrāpi devarāya, tadabhāve sapinḍebhyah //

(v) Sagotra and sagotrā are found in some Kalpasūtra instances which are already found in the Brāhmanas.

(a) In Āp DhS XX, 13, 2 as it has already been noted:

upa mātavam iyād upa svasāram upa sagotrain

which has already occurred in JB.

(b) In Āp ŚrS. XXII, 9, 13: audumbaras camasas catuḥsaktih somasya pūrṇah sagotrāya priyāyabrahmane deyah

<sup>1</sup> "A pravara is a stereotyped list of names of ancient ṛsis or seers who are believed to be the remote founders of the family" - BROUGH (EBSGP)

(c) In Śān ŚrS XIV, 16, 8 also, it is said:

Sagotrāya brahmane dadyāt /

It is said about somacamasa in XIV, 16, 5 - 6 (soma-camaso  
dakṣiṇābhiṣutasya / rtaṁ satyaṁ vadanto bhakṣayeyuh /

(vi) (a) In Āp ŚrS XXI, 2, 5: ājuhote itaresām gotraṇām following  
tvām varuṇa iti vasiṣṭha rājanyānām paridhāniyā and in Āp ŚrS  
XXI, 2, 6 - 7: narāsamo dūtiyah prayājo vasiṣṭha sunakānam /  
tanūnapād itaresām gotraṇām. Here gotra seems to denote the  
ṛṣi-gotra.

(b) Śān ŚrS I, 4, 16 has the term dvigotra,  
Sat tu dvigotrasya. In the preceding verse (I, 4, 15) amutro  
rvānci yajamānasya trīnyārṣeṣāny abhi vyāhṛtya, 'ārṣeya' is  
found which is distinguished from the term gotra.

(vii) Regarding 'inheritance' Gau DhS. XXVIII, 21 - 22 gives the  
aphorism: pinḍagotrarsisambandhā riktham bhajeran / strī cānapatyasya //  
The commentary Maskari Bhāṣya explains the distinction of sapinda,  
sagotra and samāna-pravara. Here also the gotra relation is kept  
distinct from the ṛṣi relation.

(viii) Gau DhS XXVIII, 34:

"kānīna-sahodha - paunarbhava - putrika - putra - svayamdatta -  
kṛitāḥ gotrabhājah" echoes what is said in Bau DhS II, 2, 32.  
"Kānīnam ca sapodham ca kṛitam paunarbhavam tathā svayamdattam  
niṣādam ca gotrabhājah pracakṣate"

That they are only gotrabhājah not rikthabhājah is said here. Prior  
to/....

to these were mentioned those who were both gotrabhājah<sup>and</sup> rikthabhājah. Thus here gotra is used in a very narrowed sense where the relation of gotra only which does not entitle one to the riktha (inheritance of property) is denoted.

That the name of one's own self and the name of the gotra were equally important to declare one's identity on some occasions is found in the early Gr Sūtras like Āsvalāyana and Gobhila. This gotra-name might be either that of one of the eight ṛsis or that of forefather, which is also found as early as Āsvalāyana.

Gotra as a social group was essentially exogamous and it is noticed in the early Gr. Sūtra of Gobhila. The distinction of the gotra relation from the ṛsi and sapinda relation is emphasised in Gau DhS. and as early as in Baudhāyana is noticed that the members of gotra do not necessarily have the right to the property of a sagotra man deceased.

#### H. SUMMARY:

It has been discussed that the primary meaning of the word "gotra" seems to be "a collection of cows." The secondary meaning "the rock obstructing the cows detained by the enemy" was probably conceived by "popular etymology" by the Rgvedic poets associating the word with go (cow) plus trā(i) (guard). A tertiary meaning seems to have been obtained by figurative employment of the secondary sense to "cloud," where rainwaters are pent up. Besides these meanings another might have been developed, but we can not be definite about it. The use of gavam with gotra in two instances has led some scholars to think that gotra was used here in the sense of "group" only (the inference that it denoted "the group of men" does not fit well with the context, as/....

as we have already observed.) We cannot be definite, yet we can suggest that from the primary meaning "the collection of cows" a general sense of "group" can develop by the process of generalisation of meaning. This might be "just a group" for which gavām was necessary to indicate that the group was of cows.

In the AV. besides the two instances of repeated RV. verses, there is one altered RV. verse in AV. (Śau) where instead of the "herd of cows" gotra may as well be interpreted as "a collection of all beings" with ksayati in the sense of "rules over." Then in 'Pai' version also there is one instance of "abhi no gotram" which might have signified "unto our herd of cows" but better ~~the host~~, "unto our host or group." The word visvagotrya in AV (Śau) referring to the war drum may also have signified "belonging to all groups of men" or "good for all groups of beings." From the general spirit of the Vedic poets, it can be presumed that the friendly people are all considered "a community" while the unfriendly ones "the enemy" and the war drum calling the people to bring in victory and consequent good for all the people (by crushing the enemy) is called visvagotrya. The inference that the people at this time were divided into "clans" or "groups" known as gotras from this occurrence only is forced and faulty, for we cannot attribute the later meaning of gotra to justify the sense of the word.

On the other hand we can assume that the sense of gotra revealed in this word is one step near to the later meaning viz. "a collection of men." The Ks XXV, 10 and MS III, 8, 9 present one instance of gotrād gotrād/....

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1

KANE (JBBRAS (11), 1935, p.5) remarks "Here clearly the word 'gotra' which is seen in the form 'visvagotryah' means 'a group of men connected together' (by blood). But we do not find how 'the consanguineous' relation of gotra can be 'clearly' inferred here.

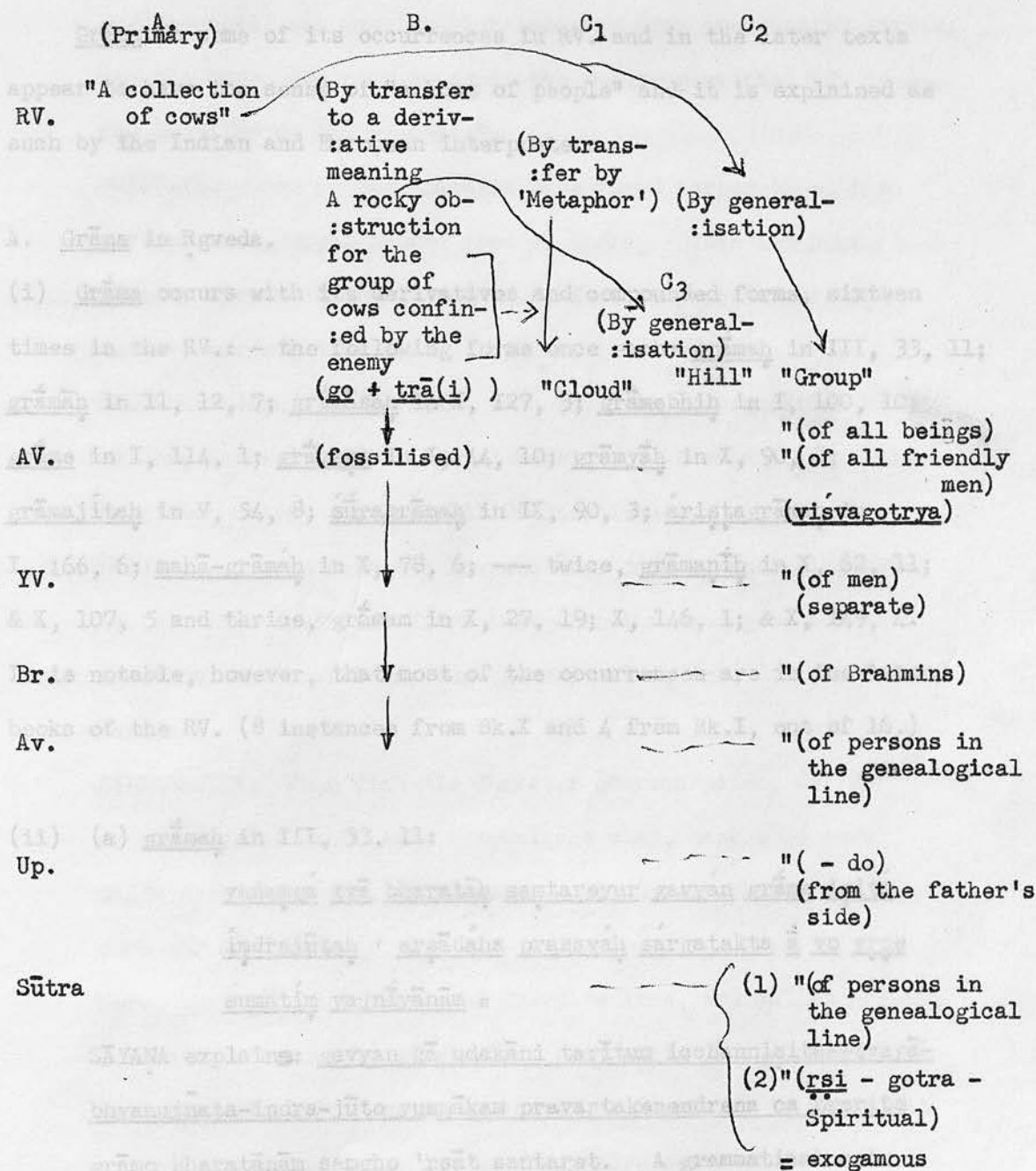


Gotra

gotrād gotrād where separate groups of people are probably referred to.

Thus the conception of "group of people" is gradually evolving side by side with the old use of the word as found in RV. Of the Brahmanas, in T Br. specially the old uses of the RV. are found but in the other Brahmanas like Kaus Br, Ś Br., Pṛ Br., J Br, and JU Br. there are instances of gotra which shows that at least the Brahmins had different gotras or groups of social importance. KANE has described how the names of the different Ṛsis with or without taddhita affixes represented different Gotras. (loc. cit p.8) In T Ār. the word gotra stands for all members of the social group known as 'gotra' which appears to be the genealogical line. In Ch. Up. gotra-name was as essential as one's own name for declaring one's own identity especially while one seeking to be a brahmācārin approached the preceptor. The gotra-name is given to all members of the genealogical line from the father's side. (The gotra-name from the mother given to Satyakāma Jābāla is only exceptional) The gotra-group in the early Sūtra period had their exogamous nature emphasised. The gotra-group was genealogical as well as the group according to the names of the eight ṛsis. Hence the modern meaning of gotra as a social group is evinced in the Brāhmanas onwards.

- (1) "of persons in the genealogical line)  
(2) "(ṛṣi - gotra - Spiritual)  
= exogamous

Gotra

4. GRĀMA

Grāma in some of its occurrences in RV. and in the later texts appear to have the sense of "a host of people" and it is explained as such by the Indian and European interpreters.

A. Grāma in Rgveda.

(i) Grāma occurs with its derivatives and compounded forms, sixteen times in the RV.: - the following forms once each: grāmāḥ in III, 33, 11; grāmāḥ in II, 12, 7; grāmāsah in X, 127, 5; grāmebhiḥ in I, 100, 10; grāme in I, 114, 1; grāmeṣu in I, 44, 10; grāmyāḥ in X, 90, 8; grāmajītaḥ in V, 54, 8; sūragrāmāḥ in IX, 90, 3; arīṣṭagrāmāḥ in I, 166, 6; mahā-grāmāḥ in X, 78, 6; --- twice, grāmanīḥ in X, 62, 11; & X, 107, 5 and thrice, grāmam in X, 27, 19; X, 146, 1; & X, 149, 4. It is notable, however, that most of the occurrences are in the later books of the RV. (8 instances from Bk.X and 4 from Bk.I, out of 16.)

(ii) (a) grāmāḥ in III, 33, 11: yadamgā tvā bharatāḥ samtareyur gavyān grāma īṣita indrajūtaḥ ' arsādāha prasavaḥ sārgataкта ā vo vr̥ṇe sumatiṃ yajñīyānām "

SĀYANA explains: gavyān gā udakāni tarītum icchannīṣitas-tvayā-bhyanujñata-indra-jūto yusmākam pravartakenendrena ca prerito grāmo bharatānām saṃgho 'rsāt santaret. A grammatical note is added: "grāmāḥ" grasaterā ca" (Unādi- I. 140) iti man-pratyayah ākārādesāsca / nitsvarah "

V. MĀDHAVA explains gavyān grāmāḥ as -- "gā icchan / bharatānām saṃghātaḥ /

WILSON: /.....

WILSON: (Visvāmitra speaks) "Since, rivers, (you have allowed one to cross), so may the Bharatas pass over your united stream; may the troop desiring to cross the water, permitted (by you) and impelled by Indra, pass."

GRIFFITH: Soon as the Bharatas have fared across thee, the warrior band, urged on and sped by Indra, / Then let your streams flow on in rapid motion. I crave your favour who deserve our worship.

GELDNER: Wenn die Bharata's dich wirklich überschritten haben werden, der auf Rinder (beute) ausziehende Heerbann, zur Eile getriebenen Galopp pfeilschnell dahinschiessen.

LUDWIG: ... wenn dann die Bharata über dich hinüber sind, die beutelustige schar die Indra ausgesandt / dann gehe hin dein im strom ergoszner lauf; eure gnade verlang ich, die ihr Opfer verdient.

HILLEBRANDT: Wenn dich die Bharater überschreiten, der auf Indras Geheiss nach Beute ausgezogene clan, dann möge eure dahinjagende Strömung abfließen. Die Gunst erbitte ich von euch ehr würdigen.

Here, bharatāḥ, the people of Bharat's line, are called grāmāḥ, evidently 'a community of people'; but, while SĀYANA, and following him WILSON, explains gavyan as 'desiring to cross the water,' gau being taken in the figurative sense of 'water,' the other European scholars generally explain it as 'desiring for the booty of cows.' SĀYANA seems to have taken the verb arsāt in the sense of santaret, but as all others construe, its connection with prasavah seems to be more befitting so far as the Vedic/....



Vedic style of verse is concerned. We cannot, however, conclude anything more from this passage than that the people of one tribal name joined together with some common purpose (viz. going to cross the water with a view to get the cows) (disregarding the interpretation of SĀYANA), are called to form a "grāma." The next verse states: ātārisur bharatā gavyāvah, i.e. they have crossed, but the gavyan grāma there is mentioned as gavyavah.

(b) grāmāḥ in II, 12, 7:-

(c) yasyāśvāsah pradīsi yasya gāvo yasya grāmā yasya  
vīśve rāthāsah / yāsūryam yā usāsam jajāna yó apām  
netā sā janāsa indrah //

VM explains only the first three words of the verse remarking "sīstam spaṣṭamiti."

SĀYANA: ... yasya anusāsane grāmāḥ / grasante 'treti grāmā  
janapadāḥ...

WILSON: He under whose control are horses and cattle, and villages and all chariots .....

GRIFFITH: He under whose supreme control are horses, all chariots, and the villages and cattle ....

GELDNER: Unter dessen Befehl die Rosse, die Rinder, die Dorfmannschaften und alle Wagen stehen ....

HILLEBRANDT: unter dessen Befehl die Rosse, die Rinder, die Clane, alle Streitwagen stehen ....

LUDWIG: in des befel die rosse, die rinder, die bewaffneten scharen, die kriegeswagen alle ...

As we have seen in the previous instance, grāma seems to stand here also for a 'band of people probably belonging to the same tribe,' /.....

Although he gives the meaning "don't" - probably it is a mistake.

tribe,' grāmāḥ being in plural naturally including all the people in different bands. By rendering into janapadāḥ, SĀYANA evidently means janapadavāsināḥ, as the European scholars also generally interpret. But from the historical evidence, the sense of 'village' or janapada seems to be secondarily developed. Notable is the mention of grāmāḥ here with asvāḥ, gāvāḥ and rathāḥ, evidently as the 'wealth of the people' (rathāḥ may be the general 'car', not necessarily 'kriegeswagen'.)

(c) grāmāsah in X, 127, 5:

nī grāmāso avikṣata nī padvānto nī pakṣināḥ nī  
śyenāsāścid arthināḥ /

SĀYANA: grāmāsah grāmāḥ / atra grāma-sabdo janasamūhe vartate yathā  
grāma āgata iti / sarve janā nyavikṣata tasyām ratrāvāgatāyaṁ  
nivisante / serate // ... tathā padvanto Badayuktā  
gavāśvādāyaśca nivisante / ... etc ... / esā rātriḥ sarvānī  
bhūta-jātānī ahani samcāreṇa śrāntānī svayamāgatya sukhaya-  
:tītyarthah /

GRIFFITH: The villagers have sought their homes, and all that

(4) walks and all that flies / Even the falcons fain for prey.

GELDNER: Die Dörfer sind zur Ruhe gegangen. Zur Ruhe alles was Füße und Flügel hat, zur Ruhe selbst die geschäftigen Adler.

HILL: Heim Kehrten die Dörfer, heim, was läuft und fliegt heim

SĀYANA: Kehrten selbst die gierigen Adler.

LUDWIG: ins haus sind die scharen<sup>1</sup> gegangen, die fusz-sowol wie flügel benützenden; sogar die girigen falken.

<sup>1</sup> Although in glossar - he gives the meaning "dorf" - probably it is a mistake.

Grāmāsah also as the plural of grāmah seems to indicate 'bands of people living together', as SĀYANA might have meant by janapadani-vāsinah in his explanation of the last-quoted passage, but his interpretation here as sarve janāh seems to be not satisfactory, as the condition stated in the Brāhmanas later, of āranya beings (as opposed to grāmya) including men living not in the localities, viz. purusavyāghrāh, parimoshinah, etc. who are evidently not included (T.Br. II, 9, 1, 3. etc.,) might also prevail in the Rgvedic period especially when this occurrence is in the later books of the RV. who do not sleep at night. A similar expression is found about cows and deer in RV. I, 191, 4: ni gāvo goṣṭhe asadan ni mṛgāso aviksata (The domestic cattle settled at rest in goṣṭha, and also the wild animals.) The mention of grāmāsah at first, followed by that of the less important animals designated by some of their distinguishing marks, e.g. padvantah, pakṣinah, arthinah (the walking, the flying, the preying animals) also suggests that the superiority of men to form a social group is in the nuclear conception of the word grāmah.

(d) grāmam in X, 27, 19:

āpasyam grāmam vāhamānamārād acakrayā svadhāyā vartamānam /  
śisaktyaryah prā yugā janānam sadyah śisnā pramināo  
nāviyān //

Explaining the first half -

SĀYANA: āpasyam vasukro 'ham prajāpatirūpam indram samyag-jñānena  
dr̥ṣṭavān asmi / kīdr̥sam / grāmam bhūtasamgham vāhamānam  
vāhayantam / sr̥jantamityarthah / kutah / ārāt dūrāt /  
upādānakāranāt prakṛtita ityarthah / acakrayā cakravarjitayā  
ratha-hīnayā svadhayā/evayam ātmānam dhārayantīyā senayā  
vartamānam āgacchantam / evambhūtam āpasyam ityarthah

GRIFFITH: I saw a troop advancing from the distance, moved not by wheels but their god-like nature ....

GELDNER: Ich sah von ferne einen Clan auf der Fahrt, der sich aus eigener Triebkraft ohne Räder bewegte ...

LUDWIG: ich sah eine schar aus der ferne sich bewegen, wandelnd vermöge göttlicher natur nicht durch räder;

Here we find the European scholars holding vahamānam as intransitive ('fahren = einherziehen' - GRASSMANN) and grāmam, the object of apāsyam is indra-prajāpati understood, whose adjective is vahamānam and vartamānam. acakrayā svadhayā also occurring in IV, 26, 4, which SĀYANA explains by referring to the present verse as cakravarjitayā svadhayā rathena. vartamānam connected with it may also have its relation with grāmam according to the European scholars; or it may be the adjective of indram, understood, according to SĀYANA. Both the interpretations are satisfactory. In any case, bhūtasamgha or janasamgha or samgha simply may be the meaning of grāma, which accords with the common meaning-element of the European scholars', viz. the band of people, or simply 'band' (GELDNER is definite that grāmam here denotes 'Clan' like Sat.Br. IV, 1, 5, 2.) (GRIFFITH - 'troop') (LUDWIG & GRASSMANN - 'schar')

(e) grāmam in X, 146, 1:

āraṇyānyāraṇyānyasaū yā prēva nāsyasi /  
kathā grāmam nā prcchasi nā tvā bhīriva vindatī //

SĀYANA: he ... aranyasya pālayitrī (according to Niruktakāra, the grammarian would prefer 'a great forest') ...

aranyādhidevate kantarani prati ya asau tvam samprati  
raksayati prapnosi / yadvā nirjane deśe vartamānatvānnaṣṭeva  
pratīyase / sa tvam katham grāmam na prcchasi / nirjane  
'ranye katham ramase / nūnam tvam bhayam na labhate kim /



YASKA: ... yāsāvaranyāni vanāni parāciva nas̥yasi / katham grāmam  
na prcchasi ... (Nir. 9.29-30)

GRIFFITH: Goddess of wild and forest who seemest to vanish from  
 the sight, / How is it that thou seekest not the  
 village? Art thou not afraid?

GELDNER: Frau des Waldes, Frau des Waldes! Heda, die du fast  
 verschwunden bist! Wie kommt es, dass du nicht nach  
 dem Dorfe fragst? Überfällt's dich nie wie Frucht?  
 (GELDNER says that the play of words (Yamaka) with two aranyāni-s,  
 one a Vocative singular form of aranyāni, and the other the  
 Accusative plural of aranya is possible.)

LUDWIG: Aranyāni, Aranyāni, die du dort gleichsam verschwindest,/  
 warum fragst nach dem dorf du nicht ? komt dich denn  
 furcht nicht an ?

HILL: Aranyāni, Aranyāni, die du dort zu verschwinden scheinst,  
 warum fragst du nicht nach dem Dorf, Bekommst du denn  
 nicht Furcht ?

ZIMMER (p.142): "O Aranyāni, Aranyāni, du da, du verirrst dich;  
 warum erfragst du nicht das Dorf, Kommt's niemals  
 über dich wie Furcht?"

The meaning of the word grāma depends on what was actually meant  
 by prcchasi - whether it is 'ask' (interrogate, ascertain, or  
 learn by inquiry) or 'ask for', 'seek (for)', or what the German  
 "fragst" actually mean - ask for or care for. GRASSMANN gives  
 the meaning of prch in this particular instance: wonach fragen  
 d.h. danach verlangen, esbegehren. ROTH suggests "aufsuchen"  
 for this instance. In X, 31, 10 ed. putrō yāt pūrvah  
pitrōrjaniste samyām gaurjagāra yaddha prcchān // prcchān seems  
 to/....

to mean 'seeks (for)' ("ṛtvijāḥ gavesayanti" - SĀYANA) (wenn sie darnach fragen sollten' - GELDNER) ("..that which men were seeking" - GRIFFITH.) Again in IX, 89, 3 (cd): śūro yutsū prathamāḥ prcchate gā āsya cāksasa pari patyukṣā // prcchate also seems to be meaning 'seeks (for)' rather than 'asks (for)' ("panīn hatvā gā labdhum go-mārgam prcchatītyarthah" - SĀYANA) ('er sich nach den kühlen- GELDNER,) (".. he seeks the cattle" - GRIFFITH.) In many more instances in RV. e.g. in I, 98, 2, VII, 5, 2; III, 49, 4, prch is used for 'seeking (for)'. Here also it seems that the goddess of the forest is asked why she does not seek for a grāma. The singular number is notable. It is meant that the said goddess rots in all wildernesses, and she should better seek a grāma, a 'locality', a 'human habitation'. Here, therefore, grāma stands for a place inhabited by bands of people. This verse is repeated in AV. XII, 1, 56; VS (Mā) III, 45; XX, 16.

(f) grāmam in X, 149, 4:

SĀYANA: gāva iva grāmam yūyudhir ivāśvān vāśréva vatsam su  
ānā dūhānā / .... sarvair ganaptrāḥ indrasam-  
pātiriva jāyām abhi no nyetu dhartā divah savitā  
viśvavārah //

SĀYANA leaves grāmam without any explanation as he says: gāva iva yathāranye samcaranto gāvah grāmam śīghram abhigacchanti.

GRIFFITH: As warriors to their steeds, kine to their village,

WILSON: as fond milk-giving cows approach their youngling /

as man to wife let Savitar come downward to us, chariots,

heaven's bearer, Lord of every blessing.

GELDNER: Wie die Kuhe ins Dorf .... so soll Savitr zu uns

herkommen, des Himmels allbegehrter Träger.

LUDWIG: ...zum Dorfe ... kome...

Here also according to all the interpreters, grāma is "village"

(The term "village" and the like, however, should better be

discarded to avoid confusion with its later meaning, as opposed to that of nagara, "a city or town" which occurs later.)

grāma in Vedic stage meaning 'a place of human habitation,'

is opposed to aranya, the desolate tract of land uninhabited by people, where cattle go out to graze and come therefrom back to

grāma at dusk (grāmyāḥ paśavaḥ sāyam aranyād grāmamāyanti,

MS. 4, 1, 1, etc. Kāth. S. 30, 10 etc. Kap.S. 31, 1 etc.)

(g) grāmebhiḥ in I, 100, 10:

sā grāmebhiḥ sanitā sā rāthebhir vidé víśvābhiḥ

kr̥ṣṭībhir nv'ādya /

sā paumsyebhir abhibhūr āsastir marútvān no

bhavatvindra ūtī //

SĀYANA: sa indrah grāmebhiḥ marutsanghaiḥ saha sanitā phalanām

pradātā bhavati sah .... sarvair manuṣyair indrasam-

bandhibhiḥ rathair karanabhutair vide vijñāyate /

apī ca sa svakīyair balair āsamsanīyān satrūn abhibhavan

vartate / sah asmākam rakṣanāya bhavatu //

V. MĀDHAVA explains grāmebhiḥ as sainikair and sanitā as bhajate

satrūn.

WILSON: He along with his attendants is a benefactor; he is

quickly recognised by all men today through his chariots;

by/....

by his manly energies he is victor over unruly (adversaries.)

May Indra associated with the Maruts be our protection.

GRIFFITH: With hosts on foot and cars he winneth treasures: well is he known this day by all the people ...

GELDNER: Er gewinnt mit dem Heerbann er mit dem Streitwagen; er wird auch heute noch von allen Völkern gekannt ...

LUDWIG: mit den scharen erbeutet er mit den Wagen, er ist heute bekannt unter allen völkern; ...

Here, the question is about the meaning of the word sanitā and whether it is connected with both grāmebhih and rathebhih. According to SĀYANA it is phalanām pradātā bhavati and according to V. MĀDHAVA bhajate satrūn, which are not satisfactory; but the European scholars (except WILSON) are almost unanimous about its meaning, which is acceptable.<sup>1</sup> The latter consider it connected with both grāmebhih and rathebhih, both Instrumental of company; thus grāma and ratha are once again mentioned in parallel. With abhibhur asastir and marutvān the military context is obtained here, otherwise grāma and ratha are not necessarily military. As ratha may not be only the battle-car, grāma also may not be the 'army' alone, which may be the meaning only here.

<sup>1</sup> Similar example of sanitā with the instrumental is found in, say, VIII, 2, 36 (a) sanitā vipro ārvadbhih said about Indra, - "medhāvī sa indrah asvair vāhanabhūtaiḥ gantavyam sambhaktā" - SĀYANA. - "The Sage who, winning spoil with steeds" - GRIFFITH. - "Ergewinnt als Redner (und) mit den Streit - rossen" - GELDNER. In VIII, 19,9 (cd) in a hymn to Agni it is said about one dāsvadhvara, ("dattayajnaḥ" - SĀYANA; "That man who brings sacrificial gifts" - GRIFFITH; "Opferspeinder" - GELDNER) sā dhībhih karmabhih stotrairvā sanitā astu sambhajanāsito bhavatu" - SĀYANA. "May he win riches by his thoughts" - GRIFFITH. "der soll mit seinen Dichtungen gewinnen." - GELDNER. In VIII, 19,10 (cd) sō ārvadbhih sanitā sā vipanyabhih sā sūraiḥ sanitā kṛtam // - "tadrso janah medha vibhih sa sūraiḥ ca sanitā bhavati" - SĀYANA. - "He wins with coursers and with singers skilled in songs with heres he obtains the prize." - GRIFFITH. - "der gewinnt mit Rennpferden, der mit seinen Barden, der gewinnt den ersten Preis mit seinen Tapferen;" - GELDNER,



(h) grāme in I, 114, 1:

imā rudrāya tavāse kapardīne kṣayādvīrāya prā bharāmhe  
matīh /  
yāthā sāmāsaddvipāde cātuspade viśvam puṣṭam grāme  
asminnanāturam //

SĀYANA explains that the last portion is thus: ato 'smin madīye

(i) grāme vartamānam viśvam sarvam prāñijātam anāturam /  
ātura ragnas tai rahitam sat /

V. MĀDHAVA explains it as referring to the sons and grandsons etc. of the hymn-maker.

According to Skandasvamin it may be rtvijo prati..

WILSON: ... and that all beings in this village may be (well) nourished and exempt from disease.

GRIFFITH: .../ That it be well with all our cattle and our men, that in this village all be healthy and well-fed.

GELDNER: ... auf dass es zweifüßlern wohl ergehe und alle Aufzucht in diesem Dorfe gesund sei.

HILL: ... dass Heil dem Zwei- und Vierfüßsigen Geschlecht werde, dass in diesem Dorfe von Krankheit frei bleibe alles, was blüht.

LUDWIG: dasz heil werde dem zwei- und dem vierfüßziegen, dasz alles, was in unserem dorfe auf wächst, freiv von siech tum sei.

The European scholars in translating grāma by "village" in general, mean the place inhabited by a number of men, But it can also be used here for the whole body of men and beasts dwelling together in a particular place, as at first, it is prayed that there/...

there may be welfare among the bipeds and the quadrupeds then all nourishment and absence of any disease 'in this grāma (i.e. among them all, as already mentioned.) In any case, it means either 'the body of animals dwelling together', or 'the place where they dwell together'.

(i) grāmesu in I, 44, 10:

agne pūrvā anūsāso vibhāvaso dīdētha visvādarśataḥ /

asi grāmesvavitā purohito 'si vajñesu mānuṣaḥ /

SĀYANA explains grāmesu as jananivāsasthānesu connected with asi avitā

i.e. raksako bhavasi. SKANDASVAMIN also explains grāma as

janapadanivāsasthānāni. V. MĀDHAVA is not very clear when he gives

the meaning thus: grāmesu / asi gr̥hesu puro-nihitaḥ / rakṣitāranyesu  
ca / vajñesu purohitaḥ / manuṣyahitaḥ / ..

SKANDA further explains: vajñesu ca purvasyām disvāhavanīyātmanā

sthāpitaḥ purohitasthāniyo vā 'si; while SĀYANA explains it as "...

anuṣṭheya-karmasu vedeh purvasyām disvavasthitaḥ ... rtvig-vajamānānām  
manuṣyānām hito 'si /

GRIFFITH: .../ Thou art our help in battle strife, the friend of man,  
the great High Priest in sacrifice.

WILSON: ....thou art the protector (of people) in villages, thou art  
the associate of man placed on the east (of the altar.) (In  
the footnote Purohita is explained as "domestic priest" also)

GELDNER: ... Du bist in den Dörfern der Shirmherr und vogt, du bist  
der Anwalt bei den Opfern, von Mann (den Menschen) dazu  
bestimmt. (In the footnote on grāmesu: konnte sich auf den  
Heerbann des Dorfes oder Clans beziehen.)

LUDWIG/....

LUDWIG: ..../ bei den bewaffneten scharen bist du helfer menschen-  
freundlich, hauspriester bei den opfern.

With WILSON, GELDNER and also GRASSMANN, all agree regarding the meaning given by the Indian commentators (jananivasasthāna), GRIFFITH translates it by "in battle strife" and LUDWIG by "bei den bewaffneten scharen," The hymn being addressed to Agni, grāma here is not very likely to denote the fighting multitude or the battle strife; the dwelling places of the people, on the other hand, may be the suitable meaning, because the fire is the general protector of people from fierce animals etc. in all their dwellings.

(iii) (a) grāmyāḥ in X, 90, 8:

tasmād ya jñāt sarvahūtaḥ sambhṛtaṁ prasādāyam /  
paśūn tamscakre vāyavyān āraṇyān grāmyāsca ye //

SĀYANA explains that from the mental sacrifice which is made to the superman puruṣa comprising all, the butter and curd etc. was made and then the animals.

SĀYANA explains: āraṇyā harinādayaḥ tathā ye ca grāmyāḥ  
gavāśvādayaḥ tānapi cakre.

GRIFFITH: From that great general sacrifice the dripping fat was gathered up. He formed the creatures of the air, and animals, both wild and tame.

PETERSON: From that sacrifice fully made was produced the butter: it made the creatures that are in the sky, the beasts of the forest, and that dwell in villages.

GELDNER: Aus diesem vollständig geopfertem Opfer wurde das Opferschmaltz gewonnen. Das machte er zu den in der Luft, im Wald und im Dorfe lebenden Tieren.

HILL: .... Es bildete die Tiere der Luft und der Wildnis,  
so wie die des Dorfes.

LUDWIG: ..../ er bildete die tiere der luft, die wilden und die  
zamen tiere.

It is found here that besides the creatures of the air, the animals are distinguished into āraṇya and grāmya, (which we find more and more occurring in the later texts), i.e. untamed and domesticated animals. (In GRASSMANN's words "in Dörfern oder Gemeinden lebend"). grāmya is derived from the word grāma, which might mean either a community of people, or a place where a community of people dwell.

(b) grāmajitah in V, 54, 8:

niyutvanto grāmajito yathā nāro

'ryamaṇo nā marutaḥ kavamdhināḥ /

The first pinvamyutsam yadināso āsvaran : gavānāṁ sahasrasya

vyundanti prthivīm madhvo āmdhasā // kaścidanti

SĀYANA explains grāmajitah as saṅghātmakasya padārthasya  
vislesayitārāḥ, which does not make it very clear. Of course,

he explains further: nitarām yavanavanto 'svavanto grāmajito

grāmasya jetāro narō iva manuṣyā iva tathā bhavanti, and WILSON

translates it by "overcomers of multitudes." V. MĀDHAVA, however,

explains it by saṁgrāmajitah. Mit der Sonne wetteifernd soll seine

GRIFFITH: "With harnessed team like heroes overcoming troops the

LUDWIG: friendly Maruts laden with water casks. Let the spring

flow and when impetuous they roar they inundate the

earth with floods of pleasant meath."

GELDNER: "Mit Geschenken versehen wie Männer, die einen Clan

besiegen, wie die Gönner, lassen die Schlauchträger

Marut/...



(6) Marut den Brunnen überquellen wenn die Gewaltigen  
brausen. Sie durchnetzen die Erde mit dem Trank des  
Metes."

LUDWIG: "mit gespannen versehn, scharen besiegend als helden,  
die freundlichen Marut mit dem schlauche, ...."

GRASSMANN translates it by "Heere besiegend".

Here grāma does not denote a place, but a multitude of men, and  
with the verb ji- may have a military significance.

(iv) (a) grāmanīh in X, 62, 11:

sahasradā grāmanīrmā riṣanmanuh  
sūryenāśya yātamānaitu dakṣiṇā /  
sāvarner devāh prā tiramtvāyur  
yasminnāsrāntā āsanama vājam //

The first part is explained by SĀYANA thus: gavādīnām sahasrasya  
dātā grāmakartā janapadānām ayam manur mā kaiścidapi  
himsito bhavatu / yadvā karmanetr̥nasman mā hinastu  
kintu dhanādīdānena pūjayatu.

GRIFFITH: "Blest be the hamlet's chief, most liberal Manu and may  
his bounty rival that of Surya ....."

GELDNER: "Der Tausendschenker, der clanhauptling Manu soll nicht  
zu Schaden kommen. Mit der Sonne wetteifernd soll seine  
Schenkung kommen....."

LUDWIG: "der mensch, der tausend gibt, als haupt der schar  
treffe ihn kein schaden; mit der sonne wetteifernd gehe  
dakṣiṇā, ...."

(b) grāmanīh in X, 107, 5:

dakṣināvān prathamó hū́tá eti  
dákṣināvān grāmanīr ágrameti /  
tánevāmanye nṛpátim jánānām yah  
prathamó dákṣinānavivāya /  
dakṣināvān is according to SĀYANA. vajamānaḥ who having been  
rtvighbir āhutaḥ and sarveśām mukhyah, goes everywhere. SĀYANA  
 then says: tahtā grāmanīh grāmānām netā dhanavathvena tesām  
kartā dakṣināvān sah agrameti sarveśām prathamam gacchati.

GRIFFITH: "He who brings Guerdon comes as first invited, chief  
 of the hamlet comes the Guerdon-bearer. Him I account  
 the ruler of the people who was the first to introduce  
 the Guerdon."

GELDNER: "Wer die Dakṣinā gibt, kommt als Erstergeladen; wer  
 die Dakṣinā gibt, geht als Clanhäuptling voran. Den  
 halte ich für der völkerkönig, der zuerst die Dakṣinā  
 zugeführt hat."

HILL: "Wer Dakṣinās spendet, kommt als erster geladen er  
 wandelt an der spitze als Führer des Clans den nenne .."

(v) LUDWIG: "der die dakṣinā bringt, komt als erster geladen, wie  
 des dorfes vorsteher geht vor ausz, wer die dakṣinā  
 hat; ....."

In this instance we are not sure from SĀYANA's commentary whether  
dakṣināvān and grāmanī in the first line refer to the same per-  
 son or to two. But in the second line and the following  
 verse, one man is referred to. In that case, grāmanī is called  
 upon at first who leads all others, with his dakṣinā. He is  
 thus/....

thus considered the most important personage of the locality. In the next verse he is called variously Ṛṣi, Brahman, a Samachanter, a reciter of the hymn, the leader of worship. Hence, grāmanī is not a mere 'headman of the village.' He is 'the leader of the people' (assembled in the worship.) So grāma stands for a 'multitude of the people assembled for some common purpose' (as we have already noticed, as in (a) above) SĀYANA's grāmānām neta as explained here, would also mean the same thing. But in the explanation of the word in X, 62, 11 (1. above) he suggests grāmakartā janānām or alternatively karmanetr, the former meaning being puzzling. GRIFFITH's "chief of the hamlet", GELDNER's "der Clanhauptling" in both the instances, and HILLEBRANDT's "Führer des Clans" in the latter instance conceive a kind of the community of people which we cannot definitely say about grāma from any context. LUDWIG's translations "haupt der schartreffe" in the former and "des dorfes vorsteher" are also not satisfactory. GRASSMANN, however, takes both the occurrences in the sense "die Gemeinde leitend, vorsteher der Gemeinde."

(v) (a) śūra-grāmaḥ in IX, 90, 3:

śūragrāmaḥ sārvaṃvīraḥ sahāvān jetā pavasva śanītā  
dhanāni /  
tigmāyudhaḥ kṣiprādhanvā samatsv āsālhaḥ sāvān  
prtanāsu śātrūn //

SĀYANA: he soma pavasva tvam / kīṛṣastvam / śūrānām grāmaḥ  
saṃgho yasya saḥ / .. sarve vīraḥ yasya sa tathoktaḥ /  
sahāvān sahanavān jetā jayasīlaḥ śanītā sambhaktā  
dhanāni tigmāyudhaḥ tīkṣṇapraharaṇasādhanaḥ kṣiprasahana-  
:śīladhanvā samatsu saṃgrāmeṣu asodhaḥ sāvān abhibhavan  
brtanāsu śātrusenāsu kān śātrūn.

GRIFFITH: "Great Conqueror, warrior-girt, Lord of all heroes,  
flow on thy way as he who winneth riches; / With  
sharpened arms, with swift bow, never vanquished in  
battle, vanquishing in fight the foemen."

GELDNER: "Ein überlegener sieger mit tapferen Clane mit lauter  
Männern, lautere dich ein Gewinner von Schätzen, mit  
schnellschiessenden Bogen im Kampfe, ein unbezwungener  
Bezwinger der Feinde in den Schachten."

BERGAIGNE: "Groupe de heros, pourvu de tous les males, puissant  
etc."

BERGAIGNE translates grāma by "groupe". SĀYANA renders grāma  
into saṅgha, GELDNER into "Clane" and GRIFFITH the whole word  
into "warrior-girt", not a literal meaning, of course. But here  
grāma definitely stands for 'a body of people.'

(b) āriṣṭagrāmāḥ in I, 166, 6:

yūyam na ugrā marutaḥ sucetunā-riṣṭagrāmāḥ

sumatīm pipartana /

yātrā vo didyūdrādātī krīvirādātī vināti paśvāḥ

sūdhiteva barhanā//

The Maruts are addressed here and SĀYANA explains: he ...  
udgurnabalah marutaḥ yūyam sucetunā śobhanacetasā arisṭagrāmāḥ  
ahimsita-saṅghāḥ santah ... asmākam .... śobhanabuddhiṃ pūrayata.  
V. MĀDHAVA explains arīṣṭagrāmāḥ as akṣataganāḥ, and SKANDA in  
his commentary on Nirukta says: grāmāḥ saṅghāta ucyanṭe. vanig-  
grāmādi-darsanāddhe ahimsitasāṅghātā and Durga also explains it  
as anupahimsitasāṅghātāḥ.



GRIFFITH: "Terrible Maruts, ye with ne'er diminished host, with great benevolence fulfil our hearts' desire. Where'er your lightning bites armed with its gory teeth it crunches up the cattle like a well-aimed dart."

GELDNER: "Ihr gewaltige Marut mit unversehrter Schar, schenket uns wohlwollend eure Gnade in Fülle! Wo eurer Geschoss mit dem feuerfarbenen Zahn furcht da macht es (die Wasser) frei wie der beharrliche Eifer die Herdentiere."

WILSON: "Fierce Maruts, free from malevolence in your kind thoughts, fulfil towards us your good purposes; when your missile lightning rends (the cloud), as a well-hurled weapon wounds the deer."

WILSON's translation of aristagramah is not clear but GRIFFITH translating it by "with ne'er diminished host", and GELDNER by "mit unversehrter Schar" consider grama as host/Schar which accords also with the Indian commentators' meaning.

(c) mahāgrāmah in X, 78, 6:

grāvāno nā sūraāyah sindhumātara ādardirāso ādrayo  
nā viśvāhā /  
śisūlā nā krilāyah sumātāro mahāgrāmō nā yāmānuta  
tviṣā /

SĀYANA explains mahāgrāmah as mahān janasaṅgha connected with iva. The hymn is addressed to the Maruts and their achievements and activities are typified by numerous similes. They are called yāmānuta tviṣā like mahāgrāma which is explained by SĀYANA as api ca mahān janasaṅgha iva gamane dīptyā yuktā bhavanti.

GRIFFITH: "Born from the stream, like press stones are the princes, for ever like the stones that crush in pieces; / Sons of a bounteous Dame, like playful children, like a great host upon the march with splendour."

GELDNER: "Freibig wie die sindhuggeborenen Pressteine, wie die Felsen immerdar zerschmetternd, wie kleine Kinderspielend, von guter Mütter stammend, und mit ihrem Funkeln wie ein grosser Clan auf dem Kriegszug."

LUDWIG: "wie steine sind die suri's ansz dem strom geborne, immerdar wie zer schmetternde steine; spielend wie füllen, sie deren mutter schön wie einegrosze schar auf dem marsche mit blendendem glanze."

Although GRIFFITH calls it "a great host", GELDNER, "ein grosser Clan" and LUDWIG "eine grosze schar", all of them, however, mean by mahāgrāma, the great troop on march for a battle with a splendour (obviously of the weapons and armour etc.) SĀYANA on the other hand does not consider the janasāṅgha as particularly military. But everyone is unanimous in calling it 'a host of people' (whether military or not) specially when the band of Maruts is compared with it.

(vi) MACDONNELL (in his Vedic Reader - Vocabulary, p. 231) hastily concludes from only two instances that the word in the Singular denotes "village" and that in the Plural, "clans". But we find clear exceptions to this in, for example, (a) (III.33.11), as also in (d) (X.27.19), where grāma in the Singular definitely does not denote "village".  
Again/...

Again, if the Plural form of the word denotes "clans", there is no justification why the singular of it should not denote "one clan" or "a group of people". ROTH makes three classifications of the meanings of the word grāma in (SW): (1) bewohnter Platz, Dorfschaft, Dorf (gegens aranya und später auch pura, nagara, pattana) - for example, he cites from RV. instances (ii - e, f, h, i) also (ii - b, c) (as marked above); (2) eine zusammen gehörige Anzahl vom Menschen, Schaar, Haufe, namentl. Heerhaufe; for instance he quotes from RV., passages (ii - a, d, g); (3) am ende eines Comp. - verein Schaar, Haufe. For grāmajit, (iii - b) ROTH suggests: Dörfer gewinnend, oder Heerhaufen besiegend. Thus practically he distinguishes two types of usages in RV., one, "village (against aranya) and the other, "the host of people" which is also the meaning of the word standing as the compound-component at the end. For grāmajit, he thinks, both the meanings may be suitable. GRASSMANN makes three distinctions of the meanings of this word (in his Wörterbuch zum Rigveda) - (1) "Dorf", for which he cites instances (ii - f, h, and i) and also (iii - a); (2) "Dorfschaft", "Gemeinde", "in Wohnerschaft" - for which he cites (ii - e). For instances (ii - b, c) and (iv - a, b) he thinks the plural forms denote "Bewohner", "Leute"; (3) "Schar", "Heerschar", "Heer" for the rest of the instances, i.e. for (ii - a, d, g), (iii - b) and (v - a, b, c). Thus ROTH and GRASSMANN almost agree with each other except that ROTH does not distinguish "Dorf" from "Dorfschaft(Gemeinde)", as GRASSMANN does. ZIMMER in his Altindische Leben has taken all the examples given by ROTH denoting "Dorf", "Dorfschaft" except II.12.7 to illustrate the "Ansiedlung/....

"Ansiedlung und Wohnung" of the Vedic Aryans. From ROTH's other set of examples, however, he cites only I.100,10, i.e. (ii - d), to illustrate the military affairs of the Vedic period: grāmebhiḥ and rathebhiḥ are explained by him as "der in Schaaren auftretenden Fusskämpfer" and "der Wagenkämpfer" respectively. (Vedic Index remarks that he tends to regard grāma as a "clan" - a group between the "family" and the "tribe" vis).

We have seen in the detailed analysis of the instances above that the European scholars, in general, translate the word in some occurrences into "village/Dorf" - (instances (ii - b, e, f, h) and (iii - a) according to GRIFFITH, (ii - c, d, e, f, h, i) and (iii - a) according to GELDNER, (ii - e, f, h) (iii - a) and (iv - b) ((v - a) is absent in LUDWIG's translation) according to LUDWIG, (ii - c, e, h) (iii - a) according to HILLEBRANDT (many of the instances are not found in HILLEBRANDT's translations), of which instances (ii - e, f, h) and (iii - a) are common, which are also considered by the Indian annotators as the place of residence of men, as opposed to aranya. All of these, it is notable, occur in the later Books - X, 146, 1; X, 149, 4; I, 114, 1; and X, 90, 8 respectively. LUDWIG considers all the instances which have not the sense of "Dorf", as denoting "Schar", as in (ii - a, c, d, e) (iii - b) (v - c), as "bewaffneten Scharen" in (ii - b, i), as "Schartreff" in (iv - a). On the other hand, HILLEBRANDT explains grāma which does not denote "Dorf", as "Clan" only e.g. (ii - a, b), (iv - b). GELDNER gives two types of meaning: "Heerbann" for (ii - a, g) and "Schar" for (v - b) on the one hand and "Dorfmannschaften" for (ii - b) and "clan" for (ii - d), (iii - b), (iv - a, b), (v - a, c) on the other. GRIFFITH also gives the/...



the meaning "warrior band" for (ii - a), (v - a), "troop" for (ii - d) and (iii - b) on the one hand and "hosts" for (ii - g), (iii - b, c), "villagers" for (ii - c) and "hamlet" for (iv - a, b). Among the Indian annotators, SĀYANA, SKANDASVĀMIN do not appear to have meant specially "the military host" by grāma anywhere and SĀYANA's renderings are saṅgha in (ii - a), (iii - b), (v - a, b, c), bhūtasāṅgha in (ii - d), marutsāṅgha in (ii - g) and janasamūha in (ii - c). SKANDASVĀMIN sometimes, as in (v - b) renders it as saṅghāta. But V. MĀDHAVA renders grāma in (ii - a) as saṅghāta, in (v - b) as gaṇa and in (ii - g) as sainika and in (iii - b), grāmajitah into saṅgrāmajitah. GRIFFITH also has translated it in (ii - i) by "battle strife", but this meaning is nowhere found for grāma, and for saṅgrāma too the meaning is developed much later. Of these occurrences of grāma, however, which signify the "band of people" some have definitely no military significance e.g. ni grāmāso aviksata (ii - c) where grāmāsaḥ stands for people in general, i.e. men in all their bands. Again, ... pradisī .... yasya grāmah .... (b) should not make the grāma military in connection with rathāsaḥ because we also find with it gāvah, which on no account seems to be military. The meaning "villagers" or "Dorf (mann)schaft" can suit in several places quite well but they should not be called settlers of "village" or "Dorf" precisely. The meaning "clan" as given by some scholars should also be avoided in as much as it may lead one to confusion with the Anthropological term with which it is difficult to equate grāma in the contexts found in the RV, although in (ii - a) we find the Bharatas are called 'a grāma', but it may be so named because they just formed a band of people with a common purpose. In (ii - d) we have seen the meaning may be janasāṅgha or more widely bhūtasāṅgha /.... the sense of slight apprehension (i.e. the slightest fear.)

bhūtasāṅgha and in (ii - b) and (ii - c) the plural of grāma denoting "all men". grāme in (ii - h), we have seen, may signify in the band of all animals - bipeds and quadrupeds - having assembled to live together in one place" also. The word 'grāmyāhpasavaḥ' includes men and tamed animals in the later texts. The word grāmyāḥ in 'j' seems to have the same meaning. No doubt there are military contexts in some occurrences, e.g. in (ii - g), (iii - b), (v - a, b, c).

Grāmajitah appears to have some resemblance with the word grāmin in the YV. meaning "one achieving control over one's sajātas and samānas; in that sense grāmajitah would not have a purely military significance, sūragrāmah also being a combination of sūra and grāma suggests that grāma might have a wide sense but only the word sūra qualifying it makes the whole <sup>meaning</sup> word narrowed to the military sense. Aristagrāmah and mahāgrāmah have been explained by Indian commentators in the non-military sense which is not unsuitable to the contexts. The word grāmanīḥ does not seem to be "the head of the band of people having certain common deed to perform (in the instances cited, grāmanī appears to be the leader in the function of giving dakṣinās and as the leader in the function the giver of plenty.)

In the RV. grāma appears to have two broad classes of meaning - the first is a locality, as opposed to aranya<sup>1</sup> which seems to be a deserted /...

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<sup>1</sup> 'Nirukta' gives an etymology of aranya and the explanation of RV. X, 146, 1, SARUP translates: "Wilderness is the wife of desert. Desert (aranya) is (so called because) it is far (apa-arna) from the village, or because it is dull (a-ramaṇa) ..... The seer addresses her with the words, 'O wilderness, how is it that thou who disappearest in deserts i.e. forests, like one directed to some place onwards, dost not seek the village? It appears as if fear does not find thee! Or the word iva is used in the sense of slight apprehension (i.e. the slightest fear.)

deserted place, not necessarily a forest, where the cows go to graze, which is inhabited by antisocial people (T. Br. III, 9, 1, 3 etc.) and undomesticated animals, where for its desolation etc. one is liable to get afraid, while grāma is a place where people dwell together and therefore there is nothing to be afraid of. Agni or fire is the protector in all grāmas. The cows came back from their grazing places eagerly to the grāma. Nourishment and prosperity and absence of disease in the grāma is all that is desired. The beasts of grāma are stated parallelly with the beasts of āranya and with the vāyavya pasus i.e. the animals who fly in the sky. All these traits of grāma are found in instances (ii - e, f, h, i) (iii - a). The second meaning which is more important for us is "the multitude of people." In (ii - a), the cowseeking grāma of the Bharatas seems to be the group of people with some common purpose as it may also be the meaning of the word as a component in grāmanī which probably denotes the leader of the multitude of people assembled for the purpose of a common sacrifice and where the grāmanī is the pioneer and giver of the largest amount of dakṣiṇā. The grāmas go to rest as the footed winged and preying animals do. Grāmas are parallelly stated with horses, cows and rathas all of which remain at Indra's behest. With grāmas and rathas Indra begets wealth for persons. By Indra is also borne the grāma remaining in acakra svadhā.

There are heroes who are called grāmajit with whom the Maruts are compared. The Maruts are also called aristagrāmāḥ whose multitude never diminishes in number. Mahāgrāma, a big multitude of men while moving has a splendid glory. Śūragrāmāḥ also suggests "having a multitude of heroes." Hence grāma in RV. seems to have the primary meaning/...

meaning of a multitude of men joined together for some common purpose, either for cowseeking on the other side of the river, or for sacrifice where one called grāmanī leads (nī-) the whole grāma or multitude assembled on the occasion of the sacrifice to give the dakṣiṇā, or for the purpose of fighting, or simply for residing together. It is possible that the last meaning has led the word to the meaning of a settlement of the people dwelling together in the later days of the Rgvedic period.

Thus what 'Vedic Index' (Vol. I, p.244) says: "The primitive sense of this word which occurs frequently from RV. onwards appears to have been 'village' - is unacceptable not only because the meaning is given as "village" which should have been "a settlement of people" as opposed to aranya "the deserted place", but also because it is said that this is the primitive sense from which is derived the sense of "body of men." We have noticed just the reverse of this proposition. Also the authors of 'Vedic Index' and ZIMMER have gone too far in drawing a speculative conclusion in the words of the former. "Zimmer tends to regard the grāma as a clan, and as standing midway between the family and the tribe (vis). The grāma may however perhaps be regarded more correctly as an aggregate of several families not necessarily forming a clan, but only part of a clan (vis) as is often the case at the present day." - (loc. cit)

B. Grāma in AV.

(i) As in RV, in AV also grāma appears to have been used in two classes of meanings, one, a place inhabited by a number of people, and the other, the collection of people.



(a) One RV. verse containing grāma, viz. II, 12, 7

yāsyāśvāsah pradīśi yāsyā gāvo

yāsyā grāmā yāsyā visve rāthāsah /

..... sā janāsa indrah //

is repeated in AV (Śau) XX, 34, 7 and AV (Pai) XIII, 7, 7, and where grāmāh is used probably in the sense of groups of people settling in different places.

(b) Another RV. verse X, 103, 6 (ab)

gotrabhīdam govīdam vajrabāhum

jāyantam ājma pramṛñantam ōjasā /

is changed to:

grāmajitam gojītam vajrabāhum

jāyantamājma pramṛñantam ōjasā

in AV (Śau) VI, 97, 3 (cd) and XIX, 13, 6 (cd) and

AV (Pai) VII, 4, 6 (cd) and XIX, 12, 9 (cd),

where again grāma seems to have been used in the sense of "multitude of people". This verse is discussed later.

(ii) (a) grāmam in AV (Śau) IV, 36, 7:

nā piśācaiḥ sām śaknomi

nā stenair nā vanargūbhiḥ /

piśācāstasmān nasyanti

yam apam grāmam āvise //

(GRIFFITH: "Naught with Piśācas can I do, with thieves with roamers of the wood / Piśācas flee and vanish from each village as I enter it.")

WHITNEY and BLOOMFIELD translate the verse, the last portion of their translations mostly agree with that of GRIFFITH.

SĀYANA /.... (Śau) vi (Pai) dānoti vāṅmān vāṅmān vāṅmān

SĀYANA explains the last portion thus: tathā pisācā raksakāḥ  
tasmād grāmān nirgotya nasyantu naṣṭā bhavantu / yam grāmam  
aham anuviśya vasāmi / tasmād madadhiṣṭhitād deśāt palāyantam  
itvarthah /"

(b) Another instance of grāma in Acc. Sg. with viś is found in just the next verse of AV (Śau) i.e. IV, 36, 8:

yam grāmam āvisata idān ugrām saho māma /  
pisācās tasmān nasyanti nā pāpam ūpa jānate //

(GRIFFITH: "Into whatever village this mine awful power pene-  
 :trates / Thence the Pisācas flee away and plot no  
 the latter further mischief there.")

SĀYANA Explains: "madīyam idam tīkṣṇam mantraprabhāvajanitam  
balam yam grāmam āvisate anupraviśya vartate tasmād grāmāt  
pisācā nasyanti tatra na praviśanti / yadi pravivikṣanti  
nasyantyevetvarthah / ato na tadviśayam pāpam himsārūpam ūpa  
jānate tatratyā jānāḥ / ....." with reference to the context.

Both these passages show one's power which entering a grāma  
 or a populated place makes it free from the ravage of the  
pisāca-s.

(c) AV (Śau) V, 17, 4 (ab)

yāmāhūs tārakaiśā viksīti

This is uttered ducchunām grāmam avapādyamānām /

is almost similar to AV (Pai) IX, 154 (ab) where some words  
 appear to be corrupt. Stay quiet like a rooted tree. Dag up

yāmāhus tārakām vikesīdat

GRIFITH's "gā" prāg grāmam avapadyamānām / is not a literal

The second line in both the versions almost agree: sā spell

brahmajāyā pra (Śau) vi (Pai) dunoti rāṣṭram yatra prāpādi-  
sāsa ulkusiṁhān /

GRIFFITH translates: "She whom they call the star with loosened tresses descending as misfortune on the village ..."

WHITNEY, on the other hand, translates: "The misfortune descending (ava-pad) upon the village, of which they say "this is a star with dishevelled hair"....."

This is said about ulkuṣī (the meteor) descending on a grāma, which is more suitably a populated place, which brings in misfortune. But in AV (Pai) XX, 27, 7: "wort."

sumāṅgalena vacasā keśin grāmam tvam vada  
brahmā brahma tava (?) ulūkācchā vadāmasi,

the latter half of which seems to have some words corrupt, we find some connection with AV (Pai) IX, 15, 4 and AV (Śau) V, 17, 4 and in that case, grāma apparently denoting "the group of people residing together" here may suggest that in that verse also grāma denotes "a population or the people" which is not altogether unfit with reference to the context.

(d) AV (Śau) IV, 7, 5 and AV (Pai) II, 1, 4 are almost similar. The former has:

pari grāmam ivācitam vacasā sthāpavāmasi /  
tiṣṭhā vrkṣa iva sthāmy abhri khāte na rurupah

Pai reads "pari tvā" for "vacasā"

This is uttered against poison. GRIFFITH translates: "We set around thee with the spell as 'twere a gathered

(e) In AV armament. Stay quiet like a rooted tree. Dug up with mattocks, gripe not thou."

GRIFFITH's "gathered armament" appears to be not a literal translation and he makes it clear in a footnote: "The spell acts like a body of soldiers encompassing the plant and preventing /...."

preventing it from doing harm." It seems to denote the settle-

WHITNEY translates: "With a spell we cause to stand about  
(f) In AV (thee) as it were a collected troop (grāma); stand  
Accusative thou like a tree in (its) station, shade-dug one  
thou rackest not."

LUDWIG (p. 401): "wie einen wall (eine aufsehüttung) um das  
dorf richten wir auf ... als wie mit einer heeres  
schar umstellen wirdich mit dem wort."

BLOOMFIELD: "(Thee, o poison) that art, as it were heaped  
about the village, do we cause to stand still by  
(our) charm. Stand still as a tree upon its place;  
do not, thou that hast been dug with the spade,  
cause injury"

Here grāmam definitely does not stand for a place. SĀYANA  
explains grāmam iva as janasamūhamiva upācitam viṣam / grāma  
dr̥ṣṭāntena viṣasya pravalāyam uktam. LUDWIG and BLOOMFIELD

(iii) take the word grāmam in connection with pari, and iva is con-  
strued with ācitam, whereby the extensive action of the  
poison is suggested. The intensiveness of <sup>the action of</sup> the poison is  
however suggested by GRIFFITH, WHITNEY and also SĀYANA.

WHITNEY and GRIFFITH make a military sense of the word grāma  
which does not necessarily follow it. In general, the  
"collection of people" seems to be the meaning of the word.

(e) In AV (Pai) XIX, 50, 12: verses can be compared the

esaiṣyaḥ puro grāmam caritvā so'nṛmanam

nṛmanam brāhmaṇam ca /

(?) yajatrāpi tragncē (?) idam tadahamā dadi //

grāmam /.... of which has:

asmāi /....



grāmam in connection with caritvā seems to denote the settlement of the people rather than a "group of people."

(f) In AV (Pai) XIX, 41, 8 and 10 again, grāmam as the Accusative Singular occurs with amitrānām:

amitrānām dāraya grāmam indro yonāś  
śatrur abhyetu jighāmsan /  
athaisām agnī ruddhānām agninā veśo (?)  
anuvartayatu //

and: multitude of people" or "the population of the place."

(b) AV (Pai) XIX, 41, 8 and 10 again, grāmam as the Accusative Singular occurs with amitrānām:  
amitrānām grāmam upayuktam indrena dattam  
vidadhāty agniḥ  
satvānas santv arāmājyā (?) imam  
vebhyas carāmi haviṣā ghr̥tena //

amitrānām grāmam seems to denote "the multitude of the foemen," or "the population of the enemies."

(iii) grāma in Nom. Sg. appears in two instances in AV (Pai) but the meaning of the passages is not very clear.

(a) AV (Pai) I, 27, 3:

(iv) In AV (Śau) VI, 40, 2:  
pañca devā abhayasyeśatām indras tvaṣṭā varuṇo  
mitro'gnih /  
māyam grāmo duritam ena āgād (?)  
anyatra rājñām abhi yātu mṛtyuh

With the last portion of this verse can be compared the

second half of AV (Śau) VI, 40, 2:

asatrū indro abhayam naḥ kṛnotv  
anyatra rājñām abhi yātu manyuh //

the first line of which has:

asmai /....

asmai grāmāya pradiśas' catasra ūrjam  
subhūtam svasti savitā nah kṛnotu /  
 which is discussed later.

In the Pai verse it seems to have been said "Let the five gods, Indra, Tvastr, Vanina, Uitra and Agni dominate the fearlessness (probably of the grāma.) Let not this grāma undergo misfortune and sin, the death decreed by kings may go elsewhere." Thus the grāma here apparently stands for "the multitude of people" or "the population of the place."

(b) AV (Pai) VI, 12, 6 is less clear than the preceding instance. It is:

astrto nāmā prājāpatyo devapurāyam (?) antah  
prahāgām (?) devapurāt saha grāmas svastaye

The last portion however seems to denote " - the grāma together for the well being" which can not bear any sense unless the correct word for prahāgām is ascertained. The word grāma being in the Nominative seems to signify the "multitude of people" rather than "the locality."

(iv) In AV (Śau) VI, 40, 2 which agrees with AV (Pai) I, 27, 4 in the first line:

asmai grāmāya pradiśas' catasra ūrjam  
subhūtam svasti savitā nah kṛnotu /

SĀYANA explains asmai grāmāya as asya grāmasya but GRIFFITH translates:

"May the Four Quarters give this hamlet power: Savitar favour us and make us happy ..." and WHITNEY translates:

"For this village (let) the four directions - let Savitar make for us sustenance, wellbeing, welfare ..."

GRIFFITH conceives a verb like dadatu for asmai grāmāya, but without any such verb WHITNEY jumbles up the sense. On the other hand, SĀYANA explains it as: "..... asmadāvāsa bhūtasya prāgadisarva dikṣu annam suṣṭhu utpannam avināśināmaitat / avināśopataksitam kṣemam etat-sarvam asmākam savitā karotu /" Thus SĀYANA not only explains the dative grāmāya as Genitive but pradisāscatasrah as Adverbial Object indicating Location, rather than as Nominative as the European scholars understand. This explanation however keeps away the difficulty experienced by WHITNEY as he tries to explain it without presuming the elision of a verb like dadatu. Pradisāscatasrah does not seem to be the subject of the action of giving power, and therefore GRIFFITH's translation is not satisfactory. As explained by SĀYANA however grāma denotes "a locality - a particular settlement of a group of people."

Instead of the meaning of grāma as "village" SĀYANA explains

- (v) In AV (Śau) XVIII, 2, 27 (ab) āpemām jīvā arudhan grhebhyaḥ / tām nirvahata pari grāmāt itāh /

(GRIFFITH: "Him have the living banished from their houses: remove him to a distance from the hamlet ...." WHITNEY: ".... carry ye him out, forth from this village.") grāmāt clearly has the sense of "from the locality", "from the settlement of the people" as it is the body of the dead man is meant by "imam" and "tam".

than "apportion." In this verse where a prayer is made to

- (vi) (a) AV (Śau) IV, 22, 2 and AV (Pai) III, 21, 3 have the same verse: emām /.....

enemy who émam bhaja grāme āsvesu goṣu people and the wealth  
 of that place īṣ tam bhaja yó amitro asya / "withdraw from"  
 for "a bh" vārsma ksatrānām ayāmastu rāj- be more suitable.  
 The word endra śātrum randhaya sārvasnasmai // authority to

(GRIFFITH: "Give him a share in village, kine and horses, lion"  
 is there and leave his enemy without a portion. Let him be  
 meaning of as King be head and chief of Princes. Give up to  
 people" him O Indra, every foeman.") next instances in this

The first half of the verse is translated by WHITNEY thus:  
 this sett. "Portion thou this man in village, in horses, in  
 any inter, kine, unportion that man who is his enemy," the  
 by BLOOMFIELD thus: "To him apportion his share of villages,  
 denote the horses and cattle; deprive of his share the one  
 horses and that is his enemy!" the word grāmakāma in IV. and

Instead of the meaning of grāma as "village" SĀYANA explains  
grāme as janasamūhe: he elucidates "he indra imam rājānam  
grāme janasamūhe āsvesu goṣu ca viṣaye ā samantāt saṃśliṣṭam  
kuru / asya rājño yah amitrah śatrurasti tam nirbhaja grāmā-  
dibhyo nirbhaktam viyaktam kuru / The singular number of  
grāme is to be noted, by the side of āsvesu, goṣu. Hence  
grāma is apparently a collective noun denoting "the whole  
 collection of the people in a particular locality" rather  
 than "the locality" as understood by the European scholars.  
 (GRIFFITH: "Let purchased plants of mightier power, plants  
 that are praised for excellence, / Here in this  
 than "apportion." In this verse where a prayer is made to  
 village safely keep cattle and horses, men and beast."  
 Indra to empower one man for his lordship over the people and  
 WHITNEY: "Let the purchased, very powerful plants that are  
 the wealth of a place, by withdrawing the power of his  
 praised save in this village cow horse, man, beast."  
 enemy/...  
 BLOOMFIELD: /.....



enemy who seems to be lording over the people and the wealth of that place, the meanings "attach to" and "withdraw from" for "ā bhaja" and "nir bhaja" appear to be more suitable. The word grāme in singular suggests undivided authority to be held by the man over the grāma and the meaning "apportion" is therefore not so suitable on this account also. With the meaning of grāma "a village" or rather "a settlement of the people" it could be explained as the next instance in this way also: "Do you attach this man to the horses and kine in this settlement", but such a construing has not been done by any interpreter and is not probably the meaning. If "the multitude of people" is not the meaning of grāma, it may denote the wealth of a place of settlement other than the horses and kine, which is in the word grāmakāma in YV. and Brahmanas. But instead of saying that it is the wealth of a place of locality, we can as well say that it is the lordship over the whole mass of people in a locality which is coveted as grāmakāma is said.

(b) A contrast is presented by grāme in AV (Śau) VIII, 7, 11 where grāme stands for "in this settlement":

apakrītāḥ sāhīyasīr virūdhō yā abhiṣṭutāḥ /  
trāyantām asmin grāme gām āśvaṃ pūruṣaṃ paśūṃ //

(GRIFFITH: "Let purchased Plants of mightier power, Plants that are praised for excellence, / Here in this village safely keep cattle and horses, men and beast."

WHITNEY: "Let the purchased, very powerful plants that are praised save in this village cow horse, man, beast."

BLOOMFIELD:/.....

BLOOMFIELD: "The plants that have been bought that are right  
this verse potent and are praised shall protect in this vill-  
which appear: age cow, horse, man and cattle.")

BLOOMFIELD notes "The word village is characteristic, as  
being the proper scene of Atharvanic performances." Here  
the word is definitely for the place.

(c) In AV (Pai) V, 10, 9:

viṣo sutām pibati carṣāno mastrā samṣṣtān

rudhirena mīrān /

chinnahastā carati grāme

antar vīrahatāni bahudhā paṇāyan //

grāme with carati definitely stands for "in the settlement  
of the people."

(vii) (a) AV (Śau) XII, 1, 56 agrees partly with AV (Pai) XVII, 6,4

The former has:

ye grāmā yād aranyam yāḥ sabhā ādhi bhūmyām /

ye samgrāmāḥ samitayastēsu cāru vadema te //

The latter has yāny aranyāni for yadaranyam and for tesu  
cāru vadema te has peculiar words apparently corrupt:

tesvāham prthivi bhyāsam (?) madhumad vacah

Here grāma mentioned as opposed to aranya denotes "the settle-  
ment of the people."

BLOOMFIELD translates the AV(Śau) verse thus: "In the villages  
and in the wilderness in the assembly halls, that are  
upon the earth; in the gatherings, and in the meet-  
ings, may we hold forth agreeably to thee!"

The/...

The meaning of samgrāma is evidently not "the warfare", In this verse as we find grāma is used parallelly with aranya, which appears to be semantically opposed, we find samgrāma and samiti as allied and probably also sabhā and the etymological relation of grāma with samgrāma also suggests that collection of people may be the meaning of grāma and samgrāma might be a gathering in which all the people settled in a place assemble.

- (viii) (a) grāmān in AV (Śau) V, 20, 3 which agrees with (Pai) IX, 24, 4 except for yūthe in the former, the latter has yūtham and for abhi ruva has abhiroha.

(ix) In AV (Pai) V, 20, 3 the verse is:  
vr̥seva yūthē sāhasā vidānō  
gavyānnabhī ruva samdhanājīt /  
śucā vidhya hṛdayam pāreṣām  
hitvā grāmān prācyutā vantu śātravaḥ //

(GRIFFITH: "Like a bull marked by strength among the cattle, roar seeking kine and gathering up the booty.

- (x) (a) A RV verse (Pai) V, 20, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000

The second half of the verse is thus translated by WHITNEY:

"... pierce thou with pain the heart of our adversaries; let our foes, leaving their villages, go urged forth (pra-cyu)", and by BLOOMFIELD: "Pierce with fire the heart of the enemy; with broken ranks the foe shall run and scatter."

ROTH ('SW') and LUDWIG ('DRV' 460) translate hitvā grāmān as/...

as "having abandoned the villages." BLOOMFIELD's rendering is peculiar, as he translates grāma as military "rank" which is found nowhere else, but it may signify "groups" or "bands" (of people). Grāma here can be interpreted in both ways, it may denote "a settlement", it may also denote "the group" in which case the meaning of the portion would be "Let the routed enemy fly away scattered, i.e. their bands shattered."

(b) AV (Pai) XIX, 51, 10 containing grāmān seems to have many corrupt words:

yathā bhasad ghatikṣṇasya na sambhavati kardane /  
evā halakalakarmaya (?) nirgrāmān nir vīse jahi //

But grāmān with jahi seems to denote "the bands of people."

(ix) In AV (Pai) I, 42, 3 occurs an instance of grāmesu:

yé grāmesu malimlavas sténāsas tāsakarā vāne /  
yé kākṣesvaghāyavas tāmste'gne pari dadhāmy āsām

where grāmesu appears to denote "in the settlements of men." This verse is repeated in TS IV, 1, 10, 2-3 and MS II, 7, 7 and KS XVI, 7.

(x) (a) A RV. verse containing grāmya is repeated in AV (Śau) XIX, 6, 14 with slight alterations:

tasmād yajñāt sarvahūtaḥ sambhṛtaḥ prṣadājyām /  
paśūmstāmścakre vāyavyām āraṇyā grāmyāsca yé //

The change of RV. āraṇyān to āraṇyāḥ in AV, beside grāmyāḥ seems to be deliberate. WHITNEY's translation is more satisfactory which runs thus: "From that all-sacrificing sacri-

:fice was collected the speckled butter (prṣadājya);

it made those cattle belonging to Vāyu, those that

are/...



are of the forest and of the village." (LANMAN in his note remarks "That is the wild and the tame.")  
This verse is also repeated in VS XXXI, 6; TA III, 12, 4.

(b) In AV (Śau) II, 34, 4:

WHITNEY: ye grāmyāḥ paśavo viśvarūpā (is) full of ghee, greatly  
virūpāḥ santo bahudhaikarūpāḥ / the oblations,  
vāyustānagre pra mumoktu devah are of all forms -  
prajāpatiḥ prajāyā samrarāṇah // (rānti) be with

(WHITNEY: "The cattle that are of the village all-formed, being of various forms manifoldly of one form - let the divine Vāyu at first release them, seven Prajāpati, in unison with progeny.")

GRIFFITH: "Tame animals of every shape, though varied in colour, manifold, alike in nature - To them, the

(d) AV (first, may Vāyu God, give freedom, Prajāpati rejoicing in his creatures."

In the footnote GRIFFITH remarks against "Alike in nature" - "all being domestic and sacrificial animals.)

SĀYANA explains: "grāmyāḥ paśavaḥ" as "grāme bhavā gavādyāḥ paśavaḥ" i.e. domestic animals like cows etc. TS. replaces grāmyāḥ by āranyāḥ.

(c) AV (Śau) III, 10, 6 also has ye grāmyāḥ paśavo viśvarūpāḥ:

idāyāspadām ghṛtāvat sarisṛpām (er propped apart.)  
WHITNEY: jātavedaḥ prāti havā grbhāya / turned) away from  
ye grāmyāḥ paśavo viśvarūpās there have gone away from  
tāsam saptānām māyo rāntirastu //

<sup>1</sup> Acco (GRIFFITH: /..... these are so named in Apastamba. In KS VII, 7, instead of 'camel' is named 'mule'.

(GRIFFITH: "The shrine of Ila flows with oil and fatness: accept, O Jātavedas, our oblations. Tame animals of varied form and colour - may all the seven abide with me contented.

WHITNEY: "The track (pada) of Idā (is) full of ghee, greatly trickling, O Jātavedas, accept thou the oblations, The cattle of the village that are of all forms - of those seven let the willing stay (raṁti) be with me (with LANMAN's note: .... The commentator reads ikāyās in a; he renders sarīsr̥pam by atyartham sarpāt raṁtis by prītis and specifies the seven village (i.e. domestic) animals as cow, horse, goat, sheep, man, ass, camel<sup>1</sup>; but the number seven is doubtless used only as an indefinite sacred one.)

(d) AV (Śau) III, 31, 3 has both grāmya and āraṇya:

vī grāmyāḥ paśāva āraṇyair vyāpastr̥ṣṇayā saran /  
vyā'ham Sārvena pāpmanā vī yākṣmeṇa sāmāyuṣā //

(GRIFFITH: "Tame beasts have parted from wild beasts, water and thirst have gone apart." etc. ... (with footnote, "Tame animals have been reclaimed and thoroughly separated from their wild congeners; heaven and earth, originally in close juxtaposition have been separated and forever propped apart.)

WHITNEY: "The animals of the village (have turned) away from those of the forest; the waters have gone away from thirst; etc."

<sup>1</sup> According to 'SW' these are so named in Apastamba. In KS VII, 7, instead of 'camel'<sup>it</sup> is named 'mule'.

(xi) BLOOMFIELD: "The tame (village) animals are separate from the wild (forest animals) the water has flowed apart from thirst ..." etc.

SĀYANA explains "grāme bhavā gomahisādyāḥ paśavaḥ aranyotpannāḥ  
śvāpadādibhir dustamrgaiḥ svabhāvato vigatā yathā  
bhavanti / yathā ca āpaḥ pipāsayā vigatā bhavanti /  
jalavyatiriktasya hi prāṇi-jātasya pipāsā / evam ahaṁ  
sarveṇa pāpmanā brahma-cāriṇaṁ vigamayāmityarthaḥ /  
 ...." etc.

(e) In AV (Śau XI, 7, 21 (XI, 5, 21 in certain editions):

pārthivā divyāḥ paśava āraṇyā grāmyāsca ye /  
apaksāḥ pakṣiṇāsca ye te jātā brahmacāriṇaḥ //

a few pairs of semantically opposed words occur such as pārthiva with divya, apakṣa with pakṣiṇaḥ and also āraṇyā and grāmya.

GRIFFITH: "All creatures of the earth and heaven tame animals and sylvan beasts / winged and wingless creatures from the Brahmacārī sprang to life (" - from the Vedic student" - WHITNEY)

paśava āraṇyā grāmyāsca ye are according to WHITNEY "they

(b) In AV (i.e. cattle) of the forest and they that are of the village." According to BLOOMFIELD - "the wild and the domestic."

(c) In all these instances grāmya is derived from grāma in the sense of "the human settlement." "a place of inhabitation of a certain band of people" where animals are domesticated as opposed to those untamed wild animals who are left out in aranya (an uninhabited place.)

- (xi) (a) Grāmanī occurs in AV (Śau) XIX, 31, 12 (ab) and Pai X, 5, 12 (ab) agreeing with each other: and folk about me all, do thou,

grāmanīr asi grāmanīr utthāyābhiṣikto'bhi mā

grāmanī in these sinca varcasā / do be a "group leader" or "the

SĀYANA explains: he audumbara tvam grāmasvāmī asi / sa yathā

pradhānabhūtaḥ evaṁ tvam sarveṣāṁ maṇinām

pradhānabhūto'si atah asmākam api grāmanīr bhava /

abhi-mata-phalaprapako bhavetyarthah / athavā mām api

- (xii) Grāmanī sreṣṭham kuru / tvam varcasā abhiṣikto'si abhita

agreeing mostly ācchanno's: /māmapi varcasā abhiṣinca.

(WHITNEY: "Troop-leader art thou, arising a troopleader; being  
annointed (abhisic), do thou anoint me with splendore;  
brilliancy art thou, brilliancy maintain thou upon me;  
wealth art thou wealth assign thou to me.)

LANMAN notes "Acc. SPP the commentator's text has grāmanī chāyā  
and Ppp strangley gives the same; what he attempts to explain is  
very doubtful, ato'smākam api grāmanīr bhava .... atha vā māmapi  
sreṣṭham kuru)

GRIFFITH's translation appears to be confused.

- (b) In AV (Śau) III, 5, 7:

yé rājāno rājakṛtaḥ sūtā grāmanyaśca yé /

upastīn parṇa māhyam tvam sārvaṁ kṛnavabhito jānān //

(GRIFFITH: "The kings and makers of the kings, troopleaders,  
masters of the horse (Sūtāḥ charioteers) / Make all  
the men on every side, Parna, obedient to my will."

WHITNEY: "They that are kings, kingmakers, that are charioteers  
and troop leaders - subjects to me do thou, O Parna,  
make all people round about."



BLOOMFIELD: "The king who (themselves) make kings, the charioteers, and leaders of hosts, and folk about me all, do thou, O parṇa make my aids!")

Grāmanī in these instances seem to be a "group leader" or "the leader of hosts" as translated by BLOOMFIELD, not necessarily "troopleader" where "troops" are generally understood to be connected with "army".

(xii) Grāmāghosī occurs in AV (Śau) V, 20, 9 and (Pai) IX, 24, 9 agreeing mostly with each other. AV (Śau) reads:

samkrāndanah pravado dhr̥sn̥usenah

pravedakṛd bahudhā grāmāghosī /

śreyo vanvāno vayunāni vidvān

kirtim bahubhyo vihara dvirāje //

Pai version reads for pravado in a, prastāvena and for vi hara in d, vi bhaja.

The hymn is addressed to "the battle drum."

BLOOMFIELD: "A shouting herald, followed by a bold army, spreading news in many places, sounding through the village, eager for success, knowing the way, do thou distribute glory to many in the battle."

GRIFFITH: "Resonant, roaring, with thy powerful weapons, warning and heard by troops in many places, knowing all rules and winning us advantage deal fame to many where two kings are fighting."

WHITNEY: "A vociferating herald (? pravada) with bold army, making procalim in many places, sounding through the villages, winning advantage, knowing the ways do thou distribute (vi-hr) fame to many in the (battle) of two kings."

BLOOMFIELD and WHITNEY translate grāmaghoṣī by "sounding through the village" and GRIFFITH translates it by "heard by troops" comparing this verse with RV VI, 47, 29 (b):

purutrā te manutām viṣṭhitam jagat

which according to SĀYANA says that the moving and non-moving beings of the world widely know the war-drum, that is, its sound. bahudhā grāmaghoṣī may have suggested that it sounds widely to the grāmas, the groups of all beings, or of all men, at least the group of people who belong to the party fighting.

(1) In the Yajurveda Samhitās also the two chief types of meanings -

(xiii) Grāmajitam in AV (Śau) VI, 97, 3 and XIX, 13, 6 and AV (Pai) VII, 4, 6 and XIX, 12, 9 (cd) as referred to in (i) above is translated by GRIFFITH into "Troop-vanquisher", by WHITNEY into "the troop-conqueror", by BLOOMFIELD into "(the king) who conquers villages." VI, 97, is one

of the Sāṅgrāmika hymns. BLOOMFIELD notes: "The stanza is primarily addressed to Indra, but Indra and king are at this stage of Vedic literature synonymoun." (Indra is a typical king in AV IV, 6, 11; or VI, 98,

1. In III, 3, 2 Indra is both a god and a king.) SĀYANA also explains

the word grāmajitam in XIX, 13, 6 as śatrusamghasya jetāram / athavā

grāmasya śatrupurasya jetāram /. The verb ji- in grāmajitam meaning

"conquer" presumes the grāma to be "of the enemy." Hence grāma as we

have seen in other instances "host" or "group" or "collection of people."

Thus in AV, the word grāma, occurring singly and in derivations and

compounded forms like grāmya, grāmaṇī, grāmaghoṣin, grāmajit, there is a

broad distinction of the meaning of grāma. It may be either the people

collected generally dwelling together in a place or the place where such

a body of people inhabit. Grāma in the accusative with verb root car

in /...

This is a stock prayer pronounced by the husband and wife as rājyā -

(vide Note 4, p.114 (BYV) KEITH)

in (ii) (a) (b), in the locative in (vi) (c) and (b) also, and (ix), in the dative and ablative in (iv) and (v) and grāmān with aranyān in all probability denotes the place; grāmya also denotes "domestic" as the adjective of the paśu "beast." The other instances which may be nearly 50% of the instances in AV seem to denote "the band of people."

(c) In TS. II, 1, 10, 2 it is said about an animal gṛāma:

... nevaśaḥ grāmaḥ nārapya yān aśaśuvām

C. Grāma in YV gṛāmaśasanti (he is neither in grāma nor in aranyān)

(i) In the Yajurveda Samhitās also the two chief types of meanings - one, a place inhabited by a number of people and the other, the collection of people, - are found with the word grāma, either occurring singly in various cases, or in a number of derivatives and compounds like grāmya (which is numerous), grāmanī, grāmakāma etc.

where grāma is found opposite to bahir:

(ii) RV I, 114, 1 containing grāme is quoted in all the Samhitās of YV:

grāma karoti yā grāma tan bahir .. (IV, 6, 2)

imān rudrāya tavāse kapardīne ksayadvīrāyaprābharāmahe matīm /  
yāthā nah śāmasad dvipade catuspade viśvam puṣṭam grāme asmīn(n)  
vimuktā svāgātān vā ābhavān - ānāturam

(TS. IV, 5, 10, 1; MS. II, 9, 9; KS XVII, 16; Kap S XXVII, 6 and VS. (Mā) XVI, 48).

kānaveta yā bahistam grāme

kuryām yā grāma tan bahir iti (IV, 6, 2)

(iii)(a) The Locative Singular form is found very often in an expression:

yād grāme yād āranye yāt sabhāyām ..... in a place which  
yād aṛya énaścakrāmā vayam ..... tasyāva vajanamasi svāhā //

This is found in TS. I, 8, 3, 1; MS. I, 10, 2; KS IX, 4 and XXXVIII, 5; and Kap S. VIII, 7; and VS(Mā) III, 45 and XX, 17.

This is a stock prayer pronounced by the husband and wife as yājyā - (vide Note 4, p.114 (BYV) KEITH)

(iv) (b) A variation of the same verse is found in MS. III, 11, 10:

the place, in comp. yādi divā yādi naktam ēnāmsi cakrmaṁ vayam ... takes the  
Accusative case. .... yād grāme //

In these instances grāme is used paired with its semantic  
opposite aranye and denotes "in the place of habitation."

(c) In TS. II, 1, 10, 2 it is said about an animal gomrga:

... nevaśa grāme nāranye yam ājaghnivām those which  
samabhisāmsanti (he is neither in grāma nor in aranya.)

(b) In MS. "whom men calumniate though he has slain no one."

(KEITH) )

In MS. II, 5, 5 it is said in another expression:

(c) neva vā eśa grāme nāranye yam abhisāmsanti

(d) In MS. IV, 6, 2 and 3 we come across a new set of formulae

where grāme is found opposite to bahih:

iti pratiprasthānam karoti sādaved yo bahis -

taṁ grāme karoti yo grāme taṁ bahir .. (IV, 6, 2)

iti manthi-pātram sādaved yo bahistam

grāme karoti yo grāme taṁ bahir ... (IV, 6, 3)

vimuktyā evāvagataṁ vā adhvaryu -

pātram niruddham pratiprasthānam yadi

kāmayeta yo bahistam grāme

kuryām yo grāme taṁ bahir iti (IV, 6, 2)

yadi kāmayeta .... iti (as above) (IV, 6, 3)

In all these examples grāme is used to signify in a place which

is not outside the habitation and which is not aranya the

desolate, uninhabited place, that is to say, grāma is the place

where the community lives together.

Schroeder notes that in place of grāman the Bombay MS. has cāryan, which  
is remarkably near to (pari-) cāryan of TS. text and we think that upa  
cāryan for upa cāryan would be a better reading and this would also  
solve the question "trupa in den MSS ohne Accent" as noted by Schroeder.



(iv) The word grāmam is more abundant in use sometimes denoting clearly the place, in connection with the verb signifying motion which takes the Accusative case. he becomes possessed of a village." In the former

(a) In TS. VI, 5, 11, 2, ..... yāni pūnah prayujyānte tānyanu grāmyāḥ paśavo grāmam upāvayanti (which is explained by SĀYANA thus: grāmyāstu gavādayas tṛṇamattum aranye gattvā punargrāmam pratyāgacchantyeva, translated by KEITH ... "through those which are used again the domestic animals come back again to the village.")

(b) In MS. II, 2, 3: bānavantaḥ paridhāyo vāyāṃsi param grāmamāvisanti ..... of in order to have some similarity with

(c) In MS. IV, 1, 1 which is the same as Kap.S XLVI, 8 and XXXI, 1 and KS. XIX, 11 and XXX, 10, we find tasmād grāmyāḥ paśavaḥ sāyam aranyād grāmam āyanti (or āyānti)

(d) In Kap.S XLV, 1 as also in KS. XXVIII, 10 we find:

ukthapātram prayujyate / āraṇyā eva tat paśavo

(1) 'nuprajāyante / tasmāt tān dhṛtān grāmamāgatām

ghnanti /

i.e. by the repeated use of ukthapātra the wild animals are caught, brought to the grāma and are killed.

(e) In Kap.S VII, 6 which also agrees with KS. VIII, 10, we have:

(3) sa vrkṣasya sākhāyām agni māsaivā -

-yunā grāmamabhyavait .....

(f) In MS. III, 4, 7 upa cānyam cinvīta grāma- kāmō yathai vaitamupaci noty evamasmai grāmam upacinoti.<sup>1</sup> In TS. V, 4,

11, 3 a similar sentence occurs although without grāmam as such:

<sup>1</sup> Schroeder notes that in place of cānyam the Bombay MS. has cāyyam, which is remarkably near to (pari-) cāyyam of TS. text and we think that upa cāyyam for upa cānyam would be a better reading and this would also solve the question "tyupa in den MSS ohne Accent" as noted by Schroeder.

paricāvyāṁ cinvīta grāmakāmo grāmyēva bhavati which KEITH translates into:

"He should pile one in a circle, who desires a village, verily he becomes possessed of a village." In the former the fire is approached whereby the grāmakāma approaches the grāma also (i.e. piles it up near him.)

(g) In MS, II, 3, 1 ... grāma and grāmin in the following

instances: payo vai puruṣaḥ paya eṣa icchati yo grāmam icchati payasaivāsmāi payo 'varundhe ...  
yo grāmam icchati here is another way of saying yo grāmakāmaḥ.

(v) It is so spoken of in order to have some similarity with paya eṣa icchati.

(h) In MS. IV, 2, 7 grāmam is connected with cyāvayati:

sarasvāntsaṁ vatsareṇairāsmāi grāmam cyāvayati.

In the same way it is said later about pasu:

pasūkāmam yājayet ... pasūṁścyāvayati ...

(i) IN MS. II. 5, 1:

yadvāyave vāyurevāsmāi naṣyotam viśane ninayati  
niyutvatī vājyānuvākye bhavato grāmam asmin  
dādihāra sveto bhavati brahmanorupam

This is all spoken of a grāma-kāma and thus on him is held the grāma, a coveted possession.

(j) In TS. III. 4, 9, 2 and 3, grāmam occurs with avarundhe:

chāndāms: khātu vai grāmās chāndobhirevāsmāi

grāmam avarundhe ("... a village is as it were

the metres; verily by the metres he wins a village

for him - KEITH.)

The/...

The word grāmam appears to have the same sense as grāma especially in connection with verbs signifying motion like āyanti upēvayanti abhyavait. The sense of the word in connection with cyāvayati is not very clear but in connection with icchati, dādḥāra and avarundhe and upacinoti it might mean as in grāmakāma and grāmin in the following instances :

(A grāma is as it were the metres.)

In MS. XXIX. 8 which almost agrees with Kap. 3 XL. 5 (except in the (v) grāmena in the Instrumental occurs in one of the passages in MS. In II. 3, 1:

... yad duhyati yajñasya gopīthāyātha yat punaḥ samūhati grāmenaivainam samūhati.

The meaning of grāma here seems to be the same as of that in grāmakāma or grāmin discussed below.

(vi) grāmasya in the Genitive Singular also occurs once in TS. III, 4, 9, 3:

... madhyatō dhātāram karoti madhyatā evāinam grāmasya dadhāti. ("He puts Dhātr in the middle; (i.e. between anumati-rākā above and sinivāṭi-Kuhu below - according to SĀYANA) verily he places him in the middle of a village" - KEITH.)

This is said about a grāmakāma, one desiring for grāma, and it is said that by metres a grāma is won for him, and again by doing some special practice he is placed in the middle of a grāma. Here of course grāma seems to denote a place and we can trace the two meanings of grāma/....

grāma in this passage, grāmasya madhyatah signifying in the middle of the place, but grāma which one desires is more than a place as discussed below.

(vii) grāmah in the Nominative occurs in a few instances. In

TS. III, 4, 9, 2:

chandāmsi khalu vai grāmah .... sajātān pravacchanti

(A grāma is as it were the metres.)

In KS. XXIX, 8 which almost agrees with Kap.S XL, 5 (except in the replacement of vyajayant by abhyajayan in the latter):

upasdbhir vai devā imāmllokān vyajayamstān  
vaisarjanaivābhi-vyasrjanta yathā grāmah sam-  
grāmād visrijate ....

(Regarding the Vaisarjana offerings, KEITH notes: "The name is due to the fact that the intermediate consecration is about to be over."  
BYV) Footnote 3 p. 515 (HOS XIX) )

The meaning of samgrāma occurring here is uncertain but we have as in MS. II, 2, 3 brāhmanaspatyām carūm nirvapet samgrāme ... from which it is conjectures that here samgrāma might be something other than 'battle', although the meaning "battle" is very often found in IV. in connection with verb root -ji  
(TS. II. 2, 1; II, 2, 3-5; MS. II, 1, 1; II, 1, 3; II, 3, 2; II, 1, 10; KS. IX, 17; etc.)

(viii) grāmakāma is very often found in the IV. Samhitās and in

TS. grāmin generally is found in the same passage.

(a) TS. II. 2, 8, 1:

indrāyānvrijave purodāsam ékadāsa kapālam  
nirvapedgrāmakāmah ...



(g) sá evāsmāi sajātān ānukān karoti grāmyeva bhavati  
 ("He who desires grāma ("village" - KEITH) should offer a cake  
 on eleven potsherds to Indra, who goes straight forward; with  
 his own share verily he makes his followers obedient to him;  
 he becomes possessed of grāma ("village" - KEITH)" - HOS XVIII)

(b) TS. II, 2, 11, 1; TS. II, 2, 11, 3 and TS. II, 2, 11, 4:

nirvaped .... grāma-kāmah .... sajātān prāyacchanti  
grāmyeva bhavati.

(c) TS. II, 3, 3, 4 - 5 :

brāhmaṇaspatyaṃ ekādaśakapāla ..... nirvaped  
grāmakāmah .... sá evāsmāi sajātān prāyacchati  
grāmyeva bhavati.

(d) TS. II, 3, 9, 2:

... vaiśvadevīm sām-grahanīm nirvaped grāmakāmo  
vaiśva-devā vai sajātā vāsvānevādevānt svēna  
bhāga dheyenopadhāvati ta evāsmāi sajātān  
prāyacchanti grāmyeva bhavati.

(e) With nirvaped we find another example of grāmakāmah in  
 MS. II, 2, 3 and another in KS. X, 4.

MS. II, 2, 3: bārhaspatyaṃ caruṃ nirvaped pavasi grāmokāmo  
vā pasukāmo vā

(f) KS, X, 4:

agnaye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālaṃ nirvaped  
grāmokāmo bhūtikāmo brahmavarcasa kāmā tasya  
haritam hiranyam madhye kuryāt.

(g) /...

... verily he makes him to be the back of  
 his peers, he becomes possessed of a village.

(g) grāmakāmaḥ is also found very often with ālabheta and in TS. grāmyeva bhavati also occurs in that passage TS. II, 1, 1, 2:

vāyave niyutvato ālabheta grāmakāmo vāyurvā imāḥ

prajā nasyotā nenīyate ... sa evāsmāi prajā nasyotā

niyacchati grāmyeva bhavati

SĀYANA explains this portion: ... yathā loke valīvardā

nāsikāchidre rajju - vandhane sati sukhema nīyante tadvat

sarvāḥ prajā grāmavāsīnāḥ adhīnāḥ kṛtvā vāyus tatra tatra

bhr̥sam nayati sa ca vāyuh pasunā tustah sarvāḥ prajā

vajamānādīnāḥ karoti. svādhīnaprajo vajamāno grāma - svāmī

bhavatyeva.

(h) In TS. II, 1, 3, 2:

īndrāya marūtivate pr̥ṇisaktham ālabheta grāmakāma

īndrameva marūtvantam svēna bhāgadheyenopadhāvati

sa evāsmāi sajātān prāyacchati grāmy-eva bhavati

(He who desires a grāma (better not 'village' as translated into by KEITH) should offer (a beast) with dappled thighs to Indra with the Maruts ..... he becomes possessed of a grāma."

(i) In TS. II, 1, 6, 1:

bārhaspatyaṁ sitipr̥sthām ālabheta grāmakāmo yah

kamayeta pr̥sthām samānānam syāmiti bhr̥haspatim eva

svena bhāgadheyenopadhāvati sa evainam pr̥sthām

samānānam karoti grāmyeva bhavati.

SĀYANA explains: grāmo me bhūyat anyesām grāmasvāmī-nām madhye

pr̥stha vaduparivartī syāmiti yah kamayeta tasyāyam pasuh and

as KEITH translates ... verily he makes him to be the back of his peers, he becomes possessed of a village.

(j) In TS. II, 1, 6, 4:

vaiśva-devam bahu-rūpamalabheta grāmakāmo vaiśva-  
devā vai sajātā viśvāneva devānt svena bhāgadheya  
dhāvati ta evāsmāi sajātān prayacchati grāmyeva bhavati  
 SĀYANA's explanation runs thus: sajātā bhrātaro bhrtyādayeś  
ca te ca bahutvasāmyena viśveśām devānām etatsvāmitvāt paśor  
bahu devatyatvam ...

(k) TS. II, 1, 7, 5 - 6, which is almost the same as II, 1, 6, 4  
 quoted above except instead of viśvadevam bahurūpam, here it is  
vaiśvadevīm bahurūpām.....

(l) In TS. II, 2, 5, 6 grāmakāmaḥ is used with adhiśrayati:

... vaiśvānarām dvādaśakapālam rūrvapenmārutam  
saptakapātam grāmakāma āhavanīye vaiśvānarām  
pāpavasyasasya adhiśrayati gārhapatyē mārutam

(He who desires a grāma should offer on twelve potsherds to  
 to Vaiśvānara and to the Maruts on seven potsherds, (the  
 offering) to Vaiśvānara he places on the Āhavanīya, that to  
 the Maruts on the Garhapatya for the avoidance of confusion.)  
grāmā bhavati however is not found here.

(m) With grāmakāma the occurrence of grāmin is found in  
 one more instance in TS. in somewhat different formulae.

In V, 4, 11, 3:

paricāyām cinvīta ... grāmakāmo grāmyeva bhavati

This is already quoted in IV (f) above.

(n) MS. II, 4, 7 in IV (f) also contains grāmakāmaḥ but not  
grāmin.

(o) In MS. there are a few instances of the expression grāmakāmam yājayet. II, 3, 1; II, 5, 1; IV, 2, 7; II, 1, 9 and II, 5, 8.

In MS. II, 3, 1 besides grāmakāmam yājayet there is also one grāmakāmah:

grāmakāmam yājayet svāmeva devatām prāyascittvā  
upā saradvaninagr̥hīto vā eṣa yo grāmakāmo varuṇā  
devainam tena mūncati ...

(p) In MS. II, 3, 2 and IV, 3, 3 occur grāmakāmo vajeta of which the previous instance grāmakāmam yājayeta is practically the causative construction.

(q) In TS. III, 4, 8, 1 grāmakāmāya occurs:

grāmakāmāya hotavyā ... rāṣṭrēṇaivāsmāi rāṣṭram  
sajātāṇavarundhe grāmī.

SĀYANA explains grāmin as grāma-svāmin. KEITH translates grāmyeva bhavati by "he becomes possessed of a village," and grāmakāmah by "he who desires a village," but he observes in a note (Note 2 under II, 1, 1, 2 at p. 133):

"The essence of the possession of a Grāma is not ownership of land according to the text, but subordination which well accords with the theory that the royal grant of a village was not one of ownership but of political superiority and the receipt of dues. It is also possible that the simple process of becoming the chief of a village by one's own exertions is contemplated." (cf' Vedic Index' Vol i. pp. 246-7, Vol ii, 214 - 5, 254 - 6)



(3x) In the TS. is mentioned in brief the process of becoming grāmin in the different passages quoted above. A grāmakāma should offer certain offerings to a particular deity or some specified deities and by their grace, he is (2.1.1.2) "assigned of creatures led by noses", (KEITH) - "given the sway over all creatures living in the grāma", (SĀYANA) - "Sarvāḥ prajā grāmavāsinīr adhīnāḥ Karoti," or the deity gives the sajātas over to him (at his control) ("he subdues his relatives to him" - KEITH) or the deity "makes him to be the back of his peers" (KEITH), "prsthām samānānām" (21.6.1). The sajātas are explained by SĀYANA to be the brothers and servants etc. Grāma appears to comprise these sajātas and samānas, and the bhrātr̥s (people of the same rank, not superior or inferior) and the bhrtyas (people serving i.e. people of lower rank in their occupation.) "One desiring for a grāma" (which is the meaning of grāmakāma) and "one possessing a grāma" (grāmin) necessarily presumes the meaning "one desiring or possessing the authority or superiority over the grāma" so far as the syntax of the compound and the affix is concerned and KEITH seems to be correct in his conclusion that the essence of the possession of a Grāma is subordination and that it is not the ownership of land, but his translation of grāmakāma and grāmin by "he who desires village" and "possessed of a village" is not therefore appropriate. On the other hand the words grāmakāma and grāmin seem to have the word grāma in them in the sense of "a band of people - related and unrelated and people of various rank and order in occupation."

(ix) (a) Before passing on to the discussion of the next word

grāmya occurring more abundantly in IV., we quote here a word grāmāvatārin from Kap.S XXXI, 21 which is found as grāmāvacārin in KS. XXI, 6:

yad grāmyena juhuyād grāmāvatāriṇam (-cāriṇam, KS.)

rudram kuryāt /

āraṇyinaivāraṇyamabhi rudram niravayajate /

(b) In TS. V, 4, 3, 4 ... in place of grāmāvatā (cā) riṇam we have an antaravacāriṇam:

sad vā rtavat rtubhirevainaṁ samayati

yadanuparikramam juhuyāntar-

-avacāriṇam rudram kuryād

("the seasons are six; verily with the seasons he appeases him.

If he were to offer while wandering round he would make Rudra come within (the sacrifice.)" - KEITH)

grāmāvatāriṇam rudram kuryāt and grāmāvacāriṇam rudram kuryāt

both are suitable in the senses that he will make Rudra come down to grāma and that he will make Rudra move on in the grāma.

Here grāma has the meaning of "a dwelling place of the people."

As the sense of a place is there, it is no doubt essentially connected with people dwelling together with their own beasts and herbs and food etc. and the development of the sense "of the place of dwelling of a number of people collected together" from "a number of people collected together" can still be traced out in these passages.

(x) As grāme which is used in opposition to araṇye generally, signifies/...

signifies a place in YV. we find the occurrences of grāmya also in semantic opposition to āranya.

- (a) grāmya is very often used as an adjective of paśu. Seven are the grāmya paśu-s as frequently enumerated.

In Kāth.S. VII, 7:

paśavo bhavanti ..... sapta grāmyāstā atropadheyā  
gauscāśvascāviścājā cāsvatarasca gardabhasca puruṣo  
yadgām parāpanti tā evaitadapadhatte'tho gavaivai-  
nam cinute //

In MS. 3, 7, 6 and 4, 8, 8:

saptā chandāmsi saptā hōtrāḥ saptā grāmyāḥpasāvas  
(paśūms) tānevāvarundhe.

In KS. XXXIII, 8 again:

pañca grahitavyāḥ pāṅkto vajño vaj namevāva rundhate  
sapta grahitavyās sapta grāmyāḥ pasāvas tānevā  
rundhe ...

In KS. VII, 8 also:

tisraḥ pūrvās catasra etāstāssapta sapta grāmyāḥ  
pasavastānevāva- rundhe

In KS. XXIV, 4 and Kap.S III, 7, 5:

saptā grāmyāḥ pasavaḥ tānevāvarundhe

In KS. VI, 2 and Kap.S IV, 1 also:

sapteme grāmyāḥ paśavo'sriyanta

This is found in MS. I, 8, 1 also.

In the long description of the creation of these seven grāmya paśus, we find puruṣa, aśva, gau, avi, ajā enumerated and there-  
 after yava and vr̥hi also as the sixth and seventh grāmya paśus.

In/...

In VS. (Mā) XIV, 29 and MS. II, 8, 6 it is said:

saptadaśābhirastuvata grāmyāḥ paśavo 'srijanta  
brhaspatir ādhipatir āsīt,

where the number of the created domestic animals is not mentioned

(b) Only five grāmya paśu-s are named in TS. II, 1, 1, 5-6:

yat śmaśrunāstat puruṣānām rūpam yattūparastad  
āsvānām yad anyatodan tadgavām yad āvyā iva  
śaphāstād āvinām yadajastadajānām etāvanto vai  
grāmyāḥ paśavastān // rupēnaivāvarundhe

("The beard is the characteristic of man, the lack of horns of the horse, having incisors on one side only, that of cattle, having sheeplike hooves, that of sheep, the goat nature that of goats; so many are the domesticated animals;" - KEITH)

SĀYANA comments: "yadyapi grāmyeṣu paśusu gardabhoṣṭrāvapi  
sapta saṅkhyā siddhaye tatra tatra grhyete thatāpi puruṣādayaḥ  
pañcaiva prasastāḥ vipra rājādibhir atyantamādr̥tatvāt."

In KS. XIII, 1:

prajāpatyamajam tūparam viśvarūpam ālabheta ...  
asvasyeva vā etasye śiro gardabhasyeva karnau  
puruṣasyeva śmaśrūn; goriva pūrvau pādā averivā-  
parau śuna iva lomānyajo bhafaty etāvanto vai  
grāmyāḥ paśavastānevai-tenāptvāvarundhe ...

Here also the seven grāmya paśus are not mentioned. But grāmya paśus are seven and seven are also the āranya paśu-s

(c) The number of the grāmya and the āranya paśus as well as of the metres is seven as in TS. II, 4, 6, 2:

saptaitāni havīṃsi bhavanti sapta grāmyāḥ paśavaḥ  
saptāranyaḥ sapta chandāmsy ubhayasyā varuddhyai ..



("Seven are these offerings the tame animals are seven the wild seven; the metres are seven for the winning of both" - KEITH)

"gomahisāsṣvājāvi gardabhostrāḥ grāmyāḥ / dvikhura śvāpada paksisarīsrpahasti markāṭa - nādayaḥ sapta ranyāḥ ..."

TS. VI, 1, 8, 1; VI, 3, 7, 5; VII, 2, 2, 1, all have:

"sapta grāmyāḥ paśavaḥ sapta chandā msyāvarudhyai .."

("there are seven domesticated (or tame) animals (and) seven wild, there are seven metres (and so it serves) to win both." - KEITH)

(d) Sometimes are found both grāmya and aranya pasus said together.

In TS. V, 4, 12, 2:

etē paśava ālabhyante uta iva grāmyā uta iva āraṇyā

("... different sets of animals are offered, both domesticated and wild" - KEITH)

SĀYANA: ... aśvamedhēpi aśvapradhānake anye'nye nānā jātiyā eva paśava ālabhyante / tatra kecana grāmyā eva, decana āraṇyā eva, tatrāpi avāntara-bhedā bahudhā draṣṭavyā /

In MS. III, 2, 3:

(e) In ye grāmyāḥ paśavo ye cāraṇyā ubhaye hainam paśavo' bhisam jānate

in KS. VII, 8:

ye ca vai grāmyāḥ paśavo ye cāraṇyāsta ubhaye naktam samsriyante ...

In KS. XXX, 9:

ye ca vai grāmyāḥ paśavo ye cāraṇyāsta etamālabhya- mānamamidhyāyanti

In/.../...

In MS. III, 9, 7:

ubhāye vā etām badhyāmānam ānubadhyante ye grāmyāḥ  
paśavo ye cāraṇyā ye badhyāmānan anubadhyamānā  
anvaikṣanta manaseti ...

In MS. I, 4, 10 and KS. XXXII, 7:

ubhāyāmstēna paśūn āvarundhe grāmyāmścāraṇyām ś ca  
yād grāmyāsyā nāsnāti tēna grāmyān (paśūn in KS)  
āvarundhe 'tha yād āraṇyāsyāsnāti tēnāraṇyān ...

In Vasordhārāmantra to Agni in TS. IV, 7, 5, 2:

"..... me 'kr̥ṣṭapacyāṇca me grāmyāsca me paśava  
āraṇyāsca yajñena kalpantām ("May for me ... what  
grows on unploughed land, tame and wild cattle pros-  
:per through the sacrifice;)

In Kap.S. XXVIII, 10 and in KS. XVIII, 10 and in MS. II, 11, 5

the same is found. In VS. (Mā XVIII, 14 also the same words

are found among others (on which MAHĪDHARA comments grāmyāḥ

grāme bhavāḥ paśavaḥ go' śva mahiṣājāvi gardabhoṣṭrādayaḥ  
āraṇyāḥ aranye bhavāḥ paśavaḥ hastisimhaśarabhamrgagavaya-  
markatā dayāḥ ... etām yajñena mama sampadyantām.)

(e) In some passages grāmya paśus are mentioned in contrast with

aranya paśus, as in TS. III, 4, 3, 5:

kikkītā-kāreṇa vā grāmyāḥ paśavo ramante prāraṇyāḥ  
patanti yat kikkītā - kāramjuhoti grāmyānām paśūnām  
dhṛtyai ... (at the sound/kikkītā the domestic animals  
stop, the wild run away. In that he offers with the  
sound kikkītā (it serves) to support domestic animals."

- KEITH.)

SĀYANA /...

SĀYANA: jihvāgreṇa dhvanivīśeṣam kṛtvā pascājjuhuyāt tena  
dhvaninā gomahīśādayo grāmyāḥ paśavaḥ kṛdānte / āraṇyāstu  
mṛgaḥ pra-karṣeṇa palāyante / atah ayam dhvanir grāmyapaśu  
dhṛtyai bhavati /

In Kāth. S. 13, 12 also it is said:

tasmāt kikīṭākāraṁ grāmyāḥ paśava upatiṣṭhante -  
kikīṭākārād āraṇyāḥ pra trasanti

(f) About the gomṛga in TS. II, 1, 10, 2 it is said:

In MS. III ... nāisa grāmyāḥ paśūr nāraṇyāḥ

SĀYANA: gobhiḥ saharāṇye caritum gatād vṛṣabhāt kasyāncid  
mṛgāṁ utpanno gomṛgaḥ ubhaya lakṣaṇa darsanāt ... mukhyo  
grāmyo na bhavati ... nāpi mukhya āraṇyāḥ ...

(..."the Gayal is neither a domestic nor a wild animal ... KEITH.)

In MS. II. 5, 5:

... néva vā eśa grāme nā-raṇye yam abhiśaṁsanti néva  
khālu vā eśa grāmyāḥ paśur névā-raṇyāḥ.

(g) In TS. VI, 5, 11, 2 again:

prānyāni pātrāṇivujyānte nānyāni yāni parācīnāni  
prayujyānte tānya - anvāraṇyāḥ paśavo' ranyam  
āpa yanti yāni pūrah prayujyānte tānyanu grāmyāḥ  
paśavo grāmam upāvayanti (already explained under  
grāmam.)

(h) In KS. XIX, 11 and XXX, 10 and in Kap.S XXXI, 1 and XLVI, 8:

tasmād grāmyāḥ paśavassāyam aranyād grāmamāvānti ...

(The domestic animals come back to grāma from aranya in the even-  
 :ing.)

(i) /...

(i) In MS. III, 2, 1 about the grāmya pasus it is said:

... tasmād grāmyāḥ pasavaḥ prerate 'tha yat punar  
abhyāvartate tasmāt punaḥ samā vartate.

(j) In KS. II, 1, 7 it is said about mandūka (the frog) which is considered neither grāmya nor āranya:

... varuṇamenir vā eṣa saṃkucito mandūkena vikarsati  
mandūkasyāvusā vyeti na grāmyān pasūn hinasti  
nāranyān.

In MS. III, 3, 6 is said:

varuṇamenir vā eṣa etārhyā abhiddhas tiṣṭhati sā  
enam tārhyadhīyāttāsyā prāṇene-vīyān mandūkenādhyeti  
tasyaiva prāṇena vyeti nā grāmyān pasūn hinasti  
nāranyān.

In KS. XXIX, 8:

upasāyam vā anvāranyāḥ pasava upa tiṣṭhanta ekādaśinīm  
grāmyā yadekādaśinyā vedir mīyate tasmād grāmyāḥ  
pasava āviriva śāntā iva yadupasāyo guheva śaye /  
tasmād āranyāḥ pasavo guheva nilāyam iva pralāyam iva  
caranti.

In TS. V, 2, 9, 6 it is said about the snake how because it is considered neither a domestic nor a wild animal, it baffles the injury of the domestic and wild animals:

pasūśīrṣair upadadhyād grāmyān pasūn daṃśukāḥ syur  
yad viśucīnam āranyān yajur eva vaded ava tām tviṣim  
rudhe yā sarpeṇa grāmyān pasūn hinasti nāranyān ("If  
he were to put it down looking with the heads of the  
animals (the snakes) would bite the animals of the  
village;/...



village; if turned away those of the wild; he should speak a Yajus, he wind the brilliance that is in the snake he injures not the animals of the village nor those of the wild." (KEITH)

In KS. XX, 5:

"yat samīcīnair itaraiśśīrṣair upadhyād grāmyān paśūn dāmsukās syuh ... vajureva vadet ..., is said in the same line.

(k) In TS. V, 5, 5, 2 :

brahmavādīno vadanty agnau grāmyān paśūn prā dadhāti  
śucāranyān arpayanti ... amṛtam vai hīraṇyam  
amṛtenaivā grāmyebhyaḥ paśubhyaḥ bhesajam karoti  
naitān hinasti ("The theologians say "In the fire he places the domesticated animals with pain he afflicts the wild animals; ... gold is immortality, by immortality he makes the healing for the domesticated animals he hurts them not" - KEITH)

In V, 2, 9, 5:

"... yat paśu śīrṣāny upadadhāty amum āraṇyam ānu  
te diśamītyāha grāmyebha eva paśubhya āraṇyam paśūn  
chucam anūtsrjati (" ... in that he puts down the heads of the animals - I appoint for the N.N. of the forest he says; verily from the cattle of the village he sends pain to those of the wild; therefore of animals born at one time the animals of the wild are the smaller." - KEITH)

In V, 4, 4, 3 also TS. says:

... esa grāmyesu paśusu hito nāraṇyesu tameva  
śucārpayati.

(n) Sāṁ (... "neither among the domesticated nor the wild place has its place ..." KEITH)

SĀYANA: gomahisājāḍinām madhye yah paśuh imam iṣṭakābhih citam agnim prathamam adhiruhya pādenākramati tam paśum santāpena pradagdhum ayam agriḥ prabhur bhavati / tasmāt pāsvantarena vikarṣaṇam na kuryāt kintu mandukena kuryāt / mandukasca yāgayogyeṣu grāmyeṣu āraṇyeṣu ca paśusu anantar bhāvālloke 'pi gomahisādivad upayogād arśanacca kenāpyupajīvgo na bhavati /

In Kap. S. XXXI, 10 and KS. XX, 8 also it is said:

grāmyebhya eva paśubhya āraṇyām paś ūñchucam utsrjata

(1) In TS. I, 5, 8, 1:

sāmpāsyāmi prajā aham ityāha yāvanta evā grāmyāḥ paśāvastānevāvarundhe

and SĀYANA explains here "gavāśvādāyo vivakṣitāḥ". KEITH translates: "I gaze on offspring' he says, verily he wins all the domesticated animals."

In MS. II, 1, 3 is mentioned yatra grāmyasya paśornopasrnavastad gaccha.

(m) TS. V, 1, 4, 2 speaks of the collection of the clay for Agnicayana in a skin of animals which are again differentiated into grāmya and āraṇya:

yād grāmyānām paśūnām cārmanā sam-bhāred grāmyān paśūn śucārpayet. kṛṣṇā- jinēna sambharatyāraṇyāneva paśūn // ("If he were to gather with the skin of tame animals he would afflict with pain tame animals; he gathers with a black antelope skin; verily he afflicts with pain wild animals" - KEITH)

(n) Similarly it has been said about the milk of the grāmya and āranya animals (TS. V, 4, 3, 1 and 2):

yādgrāmyānām pasūnām pāyasā juhuyād grāmyān pasūn  
chucārpayet yadā ranyānām āranyān jartila yavāgvā  
vā nā grāmyān pasūnhināsti nāranyān / ātho khātvāhur  
anāhutirvai jartitāsca gavidhukās cetvajakṣīreṇa  
juhstyāgneyo vā eṣā yadajāhutyaivā juhōti nā grāmyān  
pasūn hināsti nāranyān.

("If he were to offer with the milk of domesticated animals, he would afflict domestic animals with pain; if (with that) of wild (animals); he should offer with groats of wild sesame or with groats of Gavidhuka food grass; he harms neither domesticated nor wild animals."

- KEITH)

jartilāh is explained by SĀYANA as āranyatilāh and gavidhukāh as āranyagodhūmah which are not eaten by men.

(o) In TS. 16, 7, 3:

...yājamaṇena grāmyāsca pasāvo 'varūdhyā āranyās  
cetyāhur yad grāmyān upavāsati tēna grāmyānāvarundhe  
yad āranyā syāsnāti tēnāranyānyād anāsvān upavāset  
pitṛdevatyah syād.

(The sacrificer should win both beasts of the wild and of the village' they say; in that he refrains from those of the village, thereby he wins them; in that he eats of the wild thereby he wins them of the wild. If he were to fast without eating the Pitṛs would be his divinity" - KEITH)  
 Here/... plants/....

Here the grāmya foods comprise vrihi etc. and āranya the nivāra and others according to SĀYANA; but KEITH thinks that animals are meant here as he says "The point is presumably that if he does not eat domestic animals they increase in number" - (The Accusative is one of reference.)

(p) In V, 2, 8, 6; V, 2, 9, 3 and V, 4, 5, 2 TS. says about dadhi as grāmya and madhu as āranya food:

V, 2, 8, 6 - ... iti dadhnā madhu misrenā bhyanakti

svadayatyevainam grāmyam vā etadannam yad dadhyā

ranam madhu yad dadhnā madhu misrenābhyanakti

(...(with these words) he annoints with curd mixed with honey, verily he makes him ready; curd is a food of the village honey of the wild; in that he annoints with curds mixed with honey (it serves) to win both.)

V, 2, 9, 3 - śrtātāṅkena medhyatvāya grāmyam vā etadannam

yaddadhyāranam madhu yaddadhnā pūrayatyubhayaśā-

-vardhyai.

V, 4, 5, 2 - ... dadhnaivahūtādah prīṇāti madhusā 'putādo

grāmyam vā etadannam yaddadhé āranam madhu ...

(q) Sometimes by food the grāmya and āranya osadhis are spoken of. Thus in TS. V, 2, 5, 5:

brahmanā ānamavarundhe 'rke 'rkascīyate

caturdasabhirvapati sapta grāmyā osadhayah saptāranā

ubhayīśam avarudhyai annasyā- nnasya vapati ...

("by holy powers he wins food, in the Arka, the Arka is piled. With 14 verses he scatters; the domesticated plants/....



plants are seven, the wild are seven; (verily they serve) to win both sets") tila, māsa, vr̥hi, yava, priyaṅgu, anu and godhūma are the grāmya food while venu, śyāmaka, nīvāra, jartilā, gavōdhukā, markatakā and gārmuta are the āranya foods according to

SĀYANA

(r) Pots/herds are also called grāmya, in opposition not to āranya but to śrīra pots/herds.  
In V, 4, 9, 1 and VII, 3, 4, 1 also the grāmya ṣadhi-s are numbered seven, as also the āranya-s:

In TS. V, 1, 6, 2:

sa caturdaśabhir juhōti sapta grāmyā ṣadhayah sapta //  
āranyā ubhayīśām avarundhyai annasyānnasya juhōti  
caturdaśarātrō bhavati sapta grāmyā ṣadhayah  
saptāranyā ubhayīśāmavarundhyai.

(The rite is of 14 nights, there are seven domesticated plants and seven wild; (verily it serves) to win both.)

In Kap.S XXXI, 5 also:

sapta vai grāmyā ṣadhayah sapta ranyāh /

In MS. IV, 3, 2:

grāmyā vā anyā ṣadhaya āranyā anyāstā  
evāsyaitēnobhāyīrāveṣṭā bhavanti - we find the ṣadhis  
are called grāmya.

In MS. I, 10, 6 which is the same as KS. XXXVI, 2 and also in MS. I, 11, 8 we find grāmya adjective of annādya. In III, 2, 5 of MS., however, we find yava as mentioned in one of the annādya.

MS. I, 10, 6 = Kath.S. 36, 1:

saptā hī maruto vinmaruto'tho nirava- tyā eva maruto'  
tho grāmyām evaitenā-nnā-dyamavarundhe //

MS. I, 11, 8:/...

Thus/...

MS. I, 11, 8:

annādyasyāvarundyā ubhāyam grāmyāncāraṇyām ca juhōti

MS. III, 2, 5:

yādi sārvaṁ nā samvīndēd yāvān madhurdyutānvaped yād  
yāvā grāmyāṁ tenānnādyam avarundhe

(r) Potsherds are also called grāmya, in opposition not to the plants being seven in each group. The grāmya potsherds āranya but to arma potsherds.

In TS. V, 1, 6, 2:

yād grāmyānām pātrānām kapālaiḥ samsrjēd grāmyāni  
pātrāni śucārpayed arma-kapālaiḥ samsrjatyetāni vai  
anupajīvanīyāni tānyeva śucārpayati. ("If he were to  
unite him with sherds of domestic pots, he would  
afflict domestic pots with pain; he unites (him) with  
fragments of broken pots; these are not used for life;  
verily he afflicts them with pain" - KEITH)

SĀYANA explains armakapāla as "vikṛta-gr̥ha-dādhādikṛtena bhāṇḍa."

The grāmyānām pātrānām kapāla-s therefore seems to be those which are of use to the people in the society.

In KS. XIX, 5 armakapāla-s and grāmya kapāla-s are mentioned:

śarkarābhirdhrtyā armaiḥ kapālaiḥ sam- sriatyāranyāneva  
pasūn śucārpayati yadgrāmyais samsrjēd grāmyān pasūn  
śucārpayet.

(s) Grāmya also qualifies īṣṭaka-s in MS. I, 5, 10:

saptā vai bāndhumatēriṣṭakā agnau cītyā upadhīyante  
tā vai tā amūsmā evā lokāya saptā grāmyā īṣṭakāstā  
atropadheyā ...

Thus/...

Thus grāmya standing in opposition to āranya as the adjective of pasu is largely found in the different recensions of the IV. samhitās. The grāmya and the āranya pasus are seven each, their distinction is very often emphasized, the frogs and snakes and gomrgas are neither grāmya nor āranya animals. Foods and plants are also distinguished as grāmya and āranya, the plants being seven in each group. The grāmya potsherds however have their semantic opposites in arma potsherds which are explained as undesirably burnt pots as by fire set on to a house etc.

- (xii) (a) The occurrence of the word grāmya and its derivatives is  
 (xi) grāmyavādin is a word that occurs in the IV. in MS. II, 2, 1, KS. XI, 6 and in TS. II, 3, 1, 3.

(a) MS. II, 2, 1:

"ādite'numanyasva satyāsīr-ihā mānah // iti niruddhasya  
rājñah padamādadīta tadyah purastād grāmyavādīva syāt  
tasya sabhāyā abhivātām parītya vīdhvamsaveyuh

(b) Kāth.S. 11, 6:

satyāsīrihā māna iti niruddhasya padam ādadhītāmanasa  
evainām karotyupa prēta marutas svatavasā enā  
vispātinābhyamum rājānam iti viśo'bhivātām abhi-  
dhvamsāyan parīyādabhimānasa evainān karoti yah  
parāstrād grāmya -vadī syāttāsya grhādvrīhīnāhareyus

(c) TS. II, 3, 1, 3:

visaivainām rāṣṭreṇa samardhayati ... yah parastād  
grāmyavādī syāt tasya grhād vrīhīnāharet.

(KEITH/...

(KEITH - "Verily he unites him with the people and the realm  
From the house of a village judge further on he should take  
rice ...")

(In Footnote 3 on p.164 he comments: The sense is uncertain.  
SĀYANA distinguishes between one who speaks grāmya in the sabhā  
and one who is a secret counsellor.)

From the note of KEITH it is not clear why he renders grāmyavādī  
into "a village judge". In 'SW' the meaning is "m. etwa  
Dorfrichter Schulze." - the basis of which cannot be understood.

- (xii) (a) The occurrence of the word grāmanī and its derivatives is  
not numerous. In VS. it is found once only in XXX, 20 (Mā):

narmāya puṁscalūṁ hāsāya kārūṇ yādase śābalyām

grāmanyām gānakam abhikrōsakam / (cited below)

tānmahase vīnāvādām pānighnam tūnavadhām

tānnrttāyānandāyatalavam

GRIFFITH: For Pastime, a harlot; for laughter, a jester; for

lust, a woman with spotty skin; for Might these,

the headman of a village, an astrologer, and a watchman;

a lute player; a handclapper, a flutist, these for

Dance; for Pleasure, a musician.

(Lust: an aquatic monster according to SĀYANA)

MAHIDHARA explains grāmanyam as grāmanetāram.

- (b) In TS. 2, 5, 4, 4 grāmanī is called to have great prosper-  
ity:

nāgatasrīr mahendram vajeta trāyo vai gatasrīyah

śusruvān grāmanī rājanyat tēsām mahendro devatā

("One/...



("One should not sacrifice to Mahendra if one is not prosperous. The prosperous are three; a learned (Brahman), a village headman and a warrior. Their Deity is Mahendra." - KEITH)

SĀYANA explains: adhikāri-bhedena sānnāyasya devatāvy-avasthām vidhatte: Śusruvān vedatrayābhijñāḥ / ... grāmādhyaḥso grāmanīḥ rājño putro rājanyah tayoh prāptasrīkatvam prasiddham tasāmeva trayānām mahindro devatā /

What may make the grāmanī prosperous in line with the princes and the erudite Brahmins? It is possible that prosperity is attained by a Brahman if he is well-versed in Śniti - by a princely man if he is superior in military power and by a grāmanī if he has immense riches which is generally possessed by a Vaiśya. But we cannot be definite about it. And a gramanī is often called a vaiśya especially in the MS. (cited below) and once in Kap.S.

VI, 9: "manostvā grāmanyō vratenādadhā" iti vaiśyenādheyah / maruto vai devānām viśah / te vaiśyasya pratyenasah /  
 MS. I, 6, 1: bhūrbhuvo 'ngirāsam tvā devānām vratenā dadhe 'gñestvā devasya vratenā dadhe indrasya tvā marutvato vratenādadhē manostvā grāmanyō vratenā dadhe. //

Again in MS. I, 6, 5: atha vaiśyasyādadhyaḥ bhūrbhuvo mano stvā grāmanyō vratenā dadhā iti pascā dvih purastad dvedhā yajñah satye pratyasthād dvedhā yajñapatir grāmanī thyena khalu vai vaiśyo bhadro bhavati grāmanīthyam asmā avarundhe.

Also in MS. II, 6, 5: mārutah saptakapālāḥ vaiśyasya grāmanyō grhe prṣṇih dakṣiṇā.

If/...

If we compare indrasya tvā marutvato vratenādadhe with manoṣṭvā grāmanyō vratenādadhe, it appears that with Indra is compared Manu, a man, who is followed by a number of vis or vaiśya the common people. Hence grāmaṇī seems to be one who is followed by a grāma, a multitude of the common people. Then again a vaiśya becomes Dhādra high in the society by grāmaṇīthya. In the next extract the grāmaṇī is mentioned among a number of people who are known as the ratnins of the king. In MS. IV, 3, 8 it is said:

athaite ratninah ksatrasya vā etānyāṅāni .....  
mārutah sapta-kapālok vaiśyasya grāmanyō grhaiti  
sūtamukhā vai vitksatramupatiṣṭhati sūtamukhām  
vavāsmā etadviśam mukhato 'nnādyāyopadadhāti ...

In the enumeration of the Ratnins in MS. both in 2, 6, 5 and 4, 3, 8, the order is like this (1) Brahman, (2) Rājan, (3) Mahiṣī, (4) Parivrkti, (5) Senānī, (6) Saṁgrahītr, (7) Ksattr, (8) Sūta, (9) grāmaṇī, (10) Bhāgadugha, (11) Takṣa-rathakāra, and (12) Aksāvāpa. But in TS. I, 8, 9, 1: ... mārutam sapta kapālam grāmanyō grhe prṣnir dakṣinā (To the Maruts (he offers) on seven potsherds in the house of the village headman, the sacrificial fee is a dappled (cow),) the series is the same as in the MS. extracts up to senānī. After senānī TS. mentions (6) Sūta, (7) grāmaṇī, (8) Ksattr, (9) Saṁgrahītr, (10) Bhāgadugha, and (11) Aksāvāpa.

It is therefore not clearly defined ranking that might have been ascribed to these Ratnins. These ratnins might have their rank on account of their functions or posts which are different

1 but/... qualifies "pots" which are well burnt and fit for domestic uses.

but important in conducting a state.

Grāmanī seems to be the leader of the public body - the leader of the common people. It is by the special quality of a grāmanī (grāmanīthya) the Vaisya might have become prosperous.

TS. VII, 4, 5, 2 has used a word grāmanīyam sārve grāmanīyam prāpnuvanti i.e. all the performers of the two sattras favourite to the gods of 12 days and of 33 days have their sins expiated and obtain a prosperity which is spoken of by the term grāmanīya which according to KEITH is the rank of "a village chief." But it can also mean deserving to be a chief of grāma, where grāma is not a place but a multitude of people.

Grāmanī seems to be specialised here in YV. to denote the leader or mouthpiece of the subjects (the body of vises).

He is not apparently a Brahmin nor a Rājanya (Ksatriya)

He probably belongs to the common people (vaisya).

It is remarkable that in YV. there is on the one hand a numerous use of the word grāmya as opposed to āraṇya mostly qualifying pasu (in the sense of domestic and wild) and also plants and food<sup>1</sup> and on the other hand a new use of words like

grāmakāma and grāmin (not so numerous as grāmya) which in all

likelihood denote "desiring for or possessing superiority or authority over a band of people, presumably dwelling together.

The former appears to have been derived from grāma in the sense of "a settlement of the people" and the latter from the word in the sense of "a band of people." With the former is connected the/..

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<sup>1</sup> Grāmya also qualifies "pots" which are well burnt and fit for domestic uses.

(1) the use of grāme (in Locative) paired with either aranye or bahih and of grāmam with verbs of motion and with the latter, the use of grāmena (in Instrumental) and of grāman with verbs like icchatī, avarundhe etc. The word grāmāvatarin or grāmāvacārin also seems to be connected with grāma denoting "the place of the people's settlement." On the other hand grāmanī seems to be the leader of the host of people dwelling together - somewhat like a headman who is prosperous possibly in wealth as the princely man in power and the learned Brahmin in knowledge, and is a king maker with senānī, saṃgrahītr, ksatr, sūta etc. Grāmyavādin is another new word in YV. the meaning of which is uncertain - but it may denote an officer who possibly spoke (to the king) or represented the settlement to speak about the settlement. Of course we cannot be definite about this etymological meaning.

On the whole, grāma as a "band of people dwelling in a place" is less common in YV., the sense of "place" being more in use.

The word saṃgrāma is found to be used in the sense of gathering beside the sense of "warfare."

#### D. Grāma in the Brāhmaṇas

In the Brāhmaṇas the word grāma with its derivatives and compounds is used generally in the sense of "the place of dwelling of men." The other class of meanings, viz. the "group of people" is found less and less.

(i) /...



(i) Grāma in ABr.

In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa grāma with its derivatives occur in the sense of a populated place only.

(a) grāmam in ABr. VII, 15:

atha haikṣvākam varuno jagrāha tasya hodaram jajñe

tadu ha rohitaḥ śusrāva / so'raṇyād grāmam evāya,

tam indraḥ puruṣarūpeṇa paryetyo-vāca ...

("Then Varuna seized Aikṣvāka: his belly swelled up.

This Rohita heard; he went from the wild to the

village. To him Indra came in human form and said"

- KEITH)

(b) grāmam, five times more in the same extract:

... dvitīyam samvatsaram aranye cacāra so'raṇyād

grāmam evāya ... tṛtīyam samvatsaram ....

grāmamevāya, caturtham samvatsaram ... grāmamevāya,

pañcamam samvatsaram ... grāmamevāya, ṣaṣṭham

samvatsaram aranye cacāra / ... tasya ha śatam

dattvā sa tamādāya so'raṇyād grāmam evāya

(He wandered for a second year in the forest. When

he was entering a village after having left the forest

..... wandered for a third year ..... was entering

a village after having left the forest ..... wandered

for a fourth year ..... for a fifth year ....

wandered for a sixth year in the forest ..... He

then gave for him a hundred cows, left the forest,

entered the village." - KEITH)

(c) grāmata in ABr. III, 44: these two months are good for

yaddha vā idam pūrvayoh savanayor asamtvaramānāscaranti/

(f) tasmād dhedam prācyo grāmata bahulāviṣṭā / ...

tr̥tīyasavane samtvaramānāscaranti / ... pratyāñci

dīrghā-ranyāni bhavanti / (This is repeated with

variations in Gop.Br. II, 4, 10)

("In that they proceed without hastening at the two

former pressings, therefore here the villages of the

east are densely populated; ..... they proceed

hastening at the third pressing, therefore here to

the west there are long forests." - KEITH)

grāmata, a new word in this Br., is translated by "villages"

only - the opposite of which is dīrghāranyāni, long tracts of  
desolate places, as opposed to a group of the populated places.

("eine Menge von Dorfschaften" in 'SW')

(d) grāmyāḥ and grāmyān in ABr. II, 17: grāmya is newly applied

before sapta vai grāmyāḥ paśavo, 'va grāmyān paśūn rundhe

ya evam veda.

(ii) grāmyāḥ - ("Seven are the tame animals; he winds the tame

animals who knows thus." - KEITH)

(e) grāmyāḥ in ABr. IV, 26:

tasmād etayoreva śaisirayor māsayor āgatayor ye caiva

grāmyāḥ paśavo ye cāranyā animāṇameva tatparuṣimāṇam

niyamti ....

("Therefore ..... in these months of the cool season,

the cattle of the village and of the wild become thin

and shaggy" - KEITH)

(Haug explains why these two months are good for it is consecration (Dīksā) there sixfold proper food, wild

(f) grāmyena in ABr. VII, 7:

tadāhur yasyāgnayo grāmyenāgninā sam dahyeran kā  
tatra prayascitterit

(b) (They say "If a man's fires are involved in a village fire, what is the expiation here?" - KEITH)

HAUG's translation is more elucidating "They ask, when the fires of an Agnihotri should burn together with the fire of a general conflagration in the village, what is the penance for it."

SĀYANA explains grāmye'gnih as mahānasādīgatah sa kadācit cattle"  
pramādena prabrddho grāma-gatāni grhāni dahan ..... etc.

Similar questions regarding expiation are put forth regarding the contamination of the sacrificial fire with divajenāgninā (lightning) śavāgninā (the funeral fire) and āranyenāgninā (the forest conflagration). The word grāmya is newly applied before agni as its adjective.

kathā grāma na spṛhasi na tvā bhūirva vidadati

(ii) grāma - its derivatives and compounds in Sān Br.

(a) grāmyāḥ and grāmyān in Sān Br. XX, 1:

devacakram vā etatpariplavam yat samvatsaras tad

(b) AV. (Sān) amrtatvam tasminnetat sattayam annādyam grāmyāsca

pasava āraṇyās caṣadhayaśca vanaspatayaś cāpsu

caram ca pariplavamca ..... tasminnetat sattayam

annādyam āpnuvanti grāmyāmsca pasūn anyāmscaṣadhīśca

vanaspatimścāpsu caram ca pariplavam ca.

(c) The ...

(The /....

("The year is a revolving wheel of the gods; that is immortality; in it is there sixfold proper food, wild animals, domesticated animals, plants, trees that which goes in the waters and that which swims" - KEITH)

- (b) grāmakāmasya in II. 2: dhūmayantyām grāma kāmasya juhuvāj - jvalantyām brahmavarcasakāmasyāṅgāreṣu paśukāmasya bhyādhayeti ....

("When it smokes, in it should he offer for one who desires a village; when it flames for one who desires radiance; in the embers, 'for one who desires a cattle" - KEITH)

Grāmya as adjective of paśu, osadhi etc. and grāma-kāmasya are used in their usual meanings as found in IV.

- (iii) Grāma etc. in T Br.

- (a) RV. X, 46, 1 containing:

kathā grāmam nā prcchasi nā tvā bhīriva vindatī

is quoted in T Br. II, 5, 5, 6, and SĀYANA explains kathā grāmam nā prcchasi as sarvo hi jawo mārge gacchan svanivāsāya grāmam kutretyevam prcchati.

- (b) AV. (Śau) IV, 22, 2, (Pai) III, 21, 3 is also repeated with slight alteration in T Br. II, 4, 7, 7:

imam ā bhaja grāme asvesugosū niramum bhajo yo

where the mitro'asya grāmanta etc. denote the place where

- (c) The IV. verse (TS. I, 8, 3, 1; MS. I, 10, 2; KS. IX, 4, etc.):



(f) In T yād grāme yād āraṇye yat sabhāyām ..... etc.

is repeated in T Br. II, 6, 6, 2 in connection with "sūryo mā tasmādenasaḥ / viśvān mūcatvaṁhasaḥ / ..." and also in T Br. I, 6, 5, 3 "...yād-grāme yād aranya ityāha / yathoditameva varunamavayajate /

(d) grāmaḥ in T Br. I, 5, 1, 5 presents a distinction with senā. It is said thus:

(III, 1, 5) "āsvinoraśvayujau / grāmaḥ parastāt senā 'vastāt/"

SĀYANA explains the distinction between the words thus:

"ekasthāna nivāso janasaṅgho grāmaḥ / pararāstre gacchan janasaṅghaḥ senā/" The band of the people in one's own place is called grāma, while that going to another state (presumably for battle) is senā.

(e) In T Br. III, 9, 1, 2 it is said:

yad āraṇyāḥ saṁsthāpayet / vyavasyetām pitāputrau / vyadvānaḥ krāmeyuḥ / vidūram grāmāyor grāmāntau syātām / - (III, 9, 1, 3) r̥kṣikāḥ puruṣavejāghrāḥ parimosina ā vyādhinē taskara āraṇyeṣ vā jāyeraṇ

As a contrast to this is said in III, 9, 1, 4:

grāmyāḥ saṁsthāpayati / ete vai paśavo kṣemo nāma / sāpitā putrā vavasyataḥ / samadvāno krāmanti / samantikam grāmāyor grāmāntau bhavataḥ / narkṣikāḥ puruṣavyāghrāḥ parimosina āvyādhini taskarā / āraṇyēsvajāyante /

where the word grāma, grāmānta etc. denote the place where people settle.

(f) In T Br. III, 9, 1, 4 grāmya paśu is used in the usual sense: of "locality" or settlement of the people" was more and more fixed .... agnīṣṭa yūpavyatiriktesu yūpeṣu niyuktānām rohito dhūmrarohita ity anuvākoktānām aṣṭādaśīnām grāmyapaśūnām samāptiparyantam prayogaṁ vidhatte.

(g) grāmakāmasya and grāmin are found in T Br. II, 1, 5, 6 in the usual sense as in YV.

(II, 1, 5, 5) ... payasā paśukamasya / etad vai paśūnām rūpam / rūpenaivāsmāi paśūn avarundhe /

(II, 1, 5, 6) paśumāneva bhavati / dadhnendriyakāmasya indriyam vai dadhi / indriyā vyeva bhavati / yavāgvā grāmakāmasya / osadhyo vai manuṣyāḥ / bhāgadhevenaivā -smāi sajātān avarundhe / grāmyeva bhavati /

(h) grāmanī occurs in T Br. II, 7, 18, 5:

vyatiṣaktābhiḥ stuvate / vyatiṣaktam vai kṣātram viśā / viśaivainam kṣatreṇa vyatiṣajati / vyatiṣaktābhiḥ stuvate / vyatiṣakto vai grāmanīḥ sajātaiḥ / sajātairevainam vyatiṣajati ....

vyatiṣakta is mixed. Grāmanī is mixed with the sajāta-s.

SĀYANA explains grāmanī as grāmasya nirvāhakah puruṣaḥ and

(iv) sajātaiḥ as sahotpannair bhrātrādibhis tadgrāmanivāsibhiḥ. The

vyatiṣakta stotra unites the vajamāna with his sajātas (living in the same grāma) Grāmanī is called mixed with his sajātas,

not with grāma which could have possibly been used instead, had

it retained the sense of the band of the people. But the

absence of grāmena for sajātaiḥ cannot prove that the word grāma

no /...

no more carried the sense of "the band of people." But as the sense of "locality" or settlement of the people" was more and more fixed for the word, the sense of grāmaṇī might also have been influenced by it.

T Br. I, 7, 3, 4 has another instance of grāmaṇī in the Genitive case:

mārutam saptakapālam grāmanyō grhe (continued to

I, 7, 3, 5) annam vai marutaḥ / annamevāvarundhe

T Br. I, 1, 4, 8 repeats one YV. instance containing grāmanyah which is in Kap.S. VI, 9, where it is said "manostvā grāmanyō vratenādadhā iti vaiśyena-dheyah". In T Br. however, it is said: "manostvā grāmanyō vratenādadhāmīti vaiśyasya" and SĀYANA explains: vaiśyasya grāma-nirvāhako manudevatā.

Besides grāmaṇī where the sense of grāma might be "the band of people" still, T Br. on one occasion in (a) above holds the primary sense of "the band of the people", which again might be qualified by "localised", as suggested by SĀYANA, under the influence of the more prevalent later meaning of the word grāma.

#### (iv) Grāma in Ś Br.

In Śatapatha Br., grāma and its derivatives occur in a number of instances where the meaning of the word is not the place where the people dwell together but is "the band of people" etc.

(a) The YV. verse (TS. I, 8, 3, 1; MS I, 10, 2; KS. IX, 4; VS. XVI, 48 etc.):

yadgrāme yadaranye yat sabhāyām ...

yad arya enāścakrmā vayam ... tasyāva yajanamasi svāhā //

is/...

is repeated though not fully in Ś Br. II, 5, 2, 25:

yad grāme yad aranya iti grāme vā hyaranye  
vainah kriyate yat sabhāyām yadindriya 'iti  
 ..... yanmānusa 'iti tadāha .....

and also XII, 9, 2, 3 has the same text as above from "yad grāme ... vainah kriyate"

where grāme opposite to aranye has the sense of "the locality."

(b) In IV, 1, 5, 7:

.... "iyam sukanyā tayā te'pahnuve samjānītām me  
grāma'iti tasya hi tata eva grāmah samjajne (For the  
 last portion the Kāṇva recension reads so'payuyuje  
grāmah.)

(The king said to Rṣi - "Here is Sukanyā, with her I  
 make atonement to thee: let my tribe live at peace  
 together. And from that same time his tribe lived  
 at peace together." - EGGELING)

(d) Here grāma of the king seems to be the band of the people,  
 although the nature of this grāma is not fully known.

Grāmah occurs also in VI, 4, 7, 9:

tadrk tad devāmām vai vidhāmanu manusyās tasmādu  
hedamuta mānuṣo grāmah pṛayāyā-tha tadānīm evāvasyati  
 ("Men (proceed) after the manner of the gods: hence  
 even now, when a troop of men have journeyed they  
 forthwith unyoke." - EGGELING)

mānuṣo grāmah pṛayāya seems to signify the band of men.

Mānuṣo grāmah is also said in VI, 7, 4, 10:

tasmād u hedam uta mānuṣo grāmo'horātre  
yātvāhorātré kṣemyo bhavati ....



(..."and hence even now when a troop of men have journeyed for a day and a night they take rest for a day and a night." - EGGELING)

In both these instances "an indefinite group of men" with the characteristic of moving is indicated.

Another instance of grāmah occurs in XII, 4, 1, 3:

... sa yadi hāsyāp yantarena grāmo 'grūn viyā yān  
naiva me kā canā rtirasti na ristiriti haiva vidyāt  
 (... "and even if a whole crowd were to pass through

between his fires, let him know that no harm and no trouble will come to him.")

Here also the meaning of grāma is the same as of the two other instances above.

(c) grāmam in Ś Br XI, 5, 1, 13:

so 'ranya' evāgnim nidhāya kumārenaiva grāmameyāya

Here grāma is "a populated place" in contrast with aranye.

(d) grāmena again as in (b) above stands for "a band of people" in IV, 1, 5, 2:

Śaryāta ha vā 'idaṃ mānava grāmena cacāra / sa tadeva  
prativāso nivivise tasya kumārāḥ kṛidanta imam jīrṇīm  
kṛtyātrūpam anarthyaṃ manyamānā loṣṭair vipipisuh //

("But Śaryāta the Mānava, just then wandered about here with his tribe and settled near by that same place. His boys while playing, setting that decrepit, ghostlike man at nought, pelted him with clods." - EGGELING.)

The grāma mentioned in IV, 1, 5, 7 for whom the king prayed that they/...

they might live at peace together is referred to here. Hence the meaning of grāma seems to be the band of the people who accompanied the king there. The singular number of saṃjānitām me grāmah and grāmena here suggests that the group is an indefinite one comprising people who quarrel with each other. EGGELING notes under tasya kumārāḥ as "the youths of his clan" but grāma does not suggest a sense of "clan"; - "the boys of that party" could be the desired meaning of the expression.

(e) grāmasya in Ś Br. XII, 5, 1, 17: the grāmas with their

tadu tathā na kuryād yo hainam tatra bruyān madhye  
In Ś Br. vnā'ayam grāmasyāśasanam aṭījanata ksipre'syāśasanam

(h) janisyati ... etc. have been in other texts used as  
adjective ("But let him not do this; for if in that case anyone  
locality. were to say of him "Verily this one has caused a  
Grāma as cutting up in the middle of the village: the cutting  
II, 3, 4. up of him will speedily come about: ... etc.")

HARISVĀMIN in his commentary explains grāma as a set of sacrific-  
:icial fires (agnisamūha) rather than "the village" as held by  
EGGELING and many other western scholars.

(f) In Ś Br XIII, 6, 2, 20, grāme occurs in the sense of the  
"place of inhabitation of the people": 5. It is said:

yadyu grāme vivatset aranyayoragni  
samārohyottaraṇārāyaṇenaiyādityam upasthāya  
In Ś Br. grhesu pratyavaset 7, 2, 9 while saying about the

(g) grāmayoh and grāmantau occur in Ś Br. XIII, 2, 4, 2 which  
agree/... about the cultivated and the wild growing grain food

respectively.

agree mostly with T Br. III, 9, 1, 4 and III, 9, 1, 2-3:

sa yad grāmyaiḥ samsthāpayet samadhvānaḥ krāmeyuḥ  
samantikam grāmayor grāmāntau syātām ...  
yadāraṇyair vyadhvānaḥ krāmeyur vidūram grāmayor  
grāmāntau syātām ... The commentator remarks  
 (i) "Kṣeme sati manuṣyāḥ sarvān deśān samcareyuh samūpe  
grāmayor sīmānau syātām ... praviralā grāmā bhavanti  
teṣāṃ ca sīmāntā dūre bhavanti."

This extract is important to show that it was desirable to have good roads well planned and to have the grāmas with their boundaries contiguous.

In Ś Br. XIII, 2, 4, 9, it is said similarly as above

(h) grāmya in Ś Br. as we have seen in other texts used as adjective to paśu, ośadhi etc. denote that pertaining to the locality. It is very often paired with āraṇya.

Grāmya as adjective to paśu is found in Ś Br. XII, 7, 3, 19; II, 3, 4, 1; III, 8, 4, 16; VIII, 4, 3, 11; IX, 3, 1, 20; IX, 5, 2, 8; XIII, 3, 2, 2; XIII, 2, 4, 1; XII, 7, 3, 20 and denotes domestic animals which are tamed by the people of a locality and which serve the domestic needs of the people as opposed to the wild untamed animals, āraṇya paśu-s.

In Ś Br. II, 2, 3, 2; II, 2, 3, 4 and 5, it is said:

sarvāni (ubhayāni) rūpāni ... yānica grāmyāni yāni  
cāraṇyāni ..... "

In Ś Br. IX, 1, 1, 3 and XII, 7, 2, 9 while saying about the foods, the variety of grāmya and āraṇya is mentioned - but it is said about the cultivated and the wild growing grain food respectively.

In Ś Br. XIV, 9, 3, 2 daśa grāmyāni dhānyāni bhavanti mentions the ten kinds of cultivated paddies.

In Ś Br. XI, 1, 7, 2 is mentioned grāmya osadhi sa yadi grāmya osadhīr asnāti purodāśasya medham asnāti.

(i) grāmanī is mentioned in the following extracts from Ś Br.

(V, 3, 1, 6) "grāmanyō grhān paretya .... vaiśyo vai grāmanī  
.... asyaikam ratnam yadgrāmanīs ..."

(he goes to the house of the grāmanī ... grāmanī is in fact a vaiśya ... grāmanī is one of his (the king's ratna.)

(V, 4, 4, 19) "taṁ grāmanīḥ sajātāya prayacchati / indrasya vajro'si .... tena grāmanīḥ sajātam ātmano  
'balīyāmsam kurute."

(The grāmanī hands it to one sajāta, (a man of his class) with "Indra's thunderbolt thou art ...." thereby the grāmanī makes the sajāta weaker than himself.")

(V, 4, 4, 18) "taṁ sūto vā sthapatir vā grāmanyē prayacchati / indrasya vajro 'si ... tena sūto vā sthapatir vā grāmanyam ātmano 'valīyasam kurute ... "

(VIII, 6, 2, 1) "na vā eṣo 'laṁ śriyai dhāraṇāya rājyāya va grāmanīthyāya veti tasmai devā etam śriyam prayacchanetās chandasyāḥ"

("This one does not deserve sustaining the glory either in regard to kingship or the position of a grāmanī. The gods bestowed on him this distinction, these chandasyas.)

(iii) /...



(111) In From these instances, we find that grāmanī was a vaiśya by class; he was also a king's ratna; sūta and sthapati the other ratnas of the kings seem to be more powerful than the grāmanī as grāmanī was more powerful than his sajāta-s the other vaiśyas (probably.) Grāmanīthya is the position of a grāmanī which was a glorious position bestowed by divine grace like the kingship. We cannot possibly deduce anything more than this. It is, however, evident that the designation of grāmanī becomes gradually important, being one of the ratnas of the king, and the derivational meaning of the word from grāma is subordinated to the usage of the word to designate the functions performed by a grāmanī

(V) Grāma in Pancaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa:

(i) In VI, 9, 2, naro vai devānām grāmo grānumevāsmā upākah. The people are the sacrificers and the sacrificial priests and by grāma is denoted nivāsāśraya of the gods.

In XVIII, 5, 8, grāmo'vā etamati pacate yo'laṇ grāmāya san grāmanna vindate yattī vra-somena vajata'pihity ā evāchudratāyai // where grāma seems to be the janasamūha, the band of the people.

(ii) In VI, 8, 11 ".....tasmād grāmam āhrtair bhunjate" is said about the Hotrs who take food with the yava, vr̥hi etc. collected which are the grāmya grains. Here 'grāmam āhrtaiḥ' seems to be equivalent to grāmyaiḥ and grāma is therefore "the place of dwelling of men."

(iii) /...

(iii) In VI, 9, 1, upāsmāi gāyatā nara iti grāma-kāmāya pratipadam kuryāt where grāma-kāmāya appears to denote grāmārthine.

In XVII, 10, 3, also, grāmakāmo yajeta seems to signify one wishing for a superiority over the other people of one's class. This meaning is still connected with the primary meaning of the word grāma, viz. the band of people.

grāma, in II. 15, 1 aranye grāma va  
yāvattaraseṣa svādhyāyan adhite, the word grāma denotes the

(vi) Grāma in Gop Br. resides as opposed to bahih or aranya.

(a) In Gop Br. I, 2, 3:

sa vā upayamścaturdho-paityagnim pādenācārgam pādena  
grāmam pādena mṛtyum pādena ... sayadaharahar grāmam  
pravīṣya bhikṣāmeva parīpsati na maithunantena tam  
pādam avarundhe yo'sya grāme bhavati ....

it is found that grāma here signifies the locality of people.

(b) In I, 5, 25:

yāmśca grāme yāmścā-ranye japanti mantrām

also, grāme denotes a place of human residence as opposed to aranye.

(c) grāmya in II, 1, 17 and II, 3, 9 is also derived from grāma, the locality as opposed to āranya derived from aranya the wilderness.

(VII) Grāma in J Br. and J Up. Br.

(a) grāma occurs in many places in J Br. but the meaning of it is the locality in every place. The word grāma-geya and grāma<sup>ghosa</sup> in 30 and 37 respectively and grāmanī in 95 however probably has the word grāma in the sense of "the band of men."

(b) In J Up. Br. I, 35, 7 the word grāmasyāntau is the two ends of a locality.

The sense of a group of people remains fossilised in the use of (VIID) Grāma in T.Ar.

(a) In II, 11, 1 prācyām disi grāmāt ...., in II, 12, 1 grāme manasā svādhyāyam, in II. 15, 1 aranye grāme vā yāvattarasam svādhyāyan adhite, the word grāma denotes the place where one resides as opposed to bahih or aranya.

Grāmya adjective to pasu is also found in a few instances of J Up. Br. but the meaning is the same as before. Once in V, 2, 13 grāmya is found as the adjective of pātra.

(b) Grāmanī in T Ar. V, 4, 9 is said to be sajātaih paryūdhaḥ (carried over by the men of his class) as rāja is visā paryūdhaḥ (carried over by his subjects).

E. Grāma in the Sūtras

It is not probably necessary to go into detailed discussion of the word grāma in the Sūtras, for what we have seen in its previous stages the sense of "a group of people" is either lost or fossilised in the use of certain words and in the Sūtras there is no palpable difference. Grāma singly occurs in many places in the old Śrauta Sūtras and Grhya Sūtras (Baudhāyana, Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtras and Gobhila Gr. Sutra) and is used in the sense of a village as opposed to nagara from which it is now distinguished. Janapada is also a place of settlement distinct from grāma and nagara. For instance in Mānava Sr Sūtra IV, 6, 4:

/...

9. JANA. vrkṣamāruhya grāmaṁ nagaram janapadaṁ vā yaṁ dviṣyāttam  
dhruvor ityavekṣeta sa sadyo vinasīyati /

The sense of a group of people remains fossilised in the use of grāmakāma and grāmaṇī which have also been stereotyped in their meaning without reference to the original use.

#### F. SUMMARY.

The primary meaning of the word grāma seems to be "the band of people - joined together for some common purpose." From this meaning is derived the sense the band of people gathering in a place to dwell together amicably - (the word samgrāma also in the AV. stage has the sense of amicable meeting of people gathering in a place) from which the sense of 'human settlement' is derived. This meaning is preponderated over the other meanings in the later texts except in some words like grāmakāma, grāmin newly used in YV. The meaning "human settlement" as opposed to aranya "the desolate uninhabited place," however, appears to be changed to "village" not earlier than in the Sūtra period when nagara and janapada are also used as the other types of human settlements. The sense of "band of people" is changed to the sense of "group in general" as is found in the Brahmana, "mānuṣa grāma" (Ś Br. VI, 7, 4, 10)



# 5. JANA.

'SW' notes the general meaning of the word: "Geschöpf; Mensch; Person; Leute (Sowohl coll ... im pl.); Geschlecht, Stamm = prajā, loka." Five different variations of the meanings have been noted of which two are illustrated by RV. examples "(a) pañca janāḥ: die fünf Menschen - Stämme - Völker (b) words like daivyaḥ janah or divyaḥ janah: das Götter-volk, die Götter."

GRASSMANN (WRV) makes fifteen categories with the primary meaning "das beseelte Wesen, der Mensch (als der geborene, von jan.)"

"(1) Der Singular gewöhnlich collectiv, wobei die Begrenzung durch Relativsätze bestimmt wird ....."

"(2) durch Adjektiven, wie fromm, gottlos und ähnliche,"

"(3) durch Zahladjektiven ....."

"(4) die Begrenzung aus dem Zusammenhange zu entnehmen ist, indem namentlich die Schar derer darunter verstanden ist, die an der gottesdienst - lichen Handlung, auf die sich das Lied bezieht, theilnehmen,"

"(5) der Stamm derer, die in derselben Gemeinde (vis) wohnen."

"(6) das Volk, im Gegensatze zum Fürsten,"

"(7) die Kreigeschar, das Kriegsvolk,"

"(8) die ganze Menschheit, die Menschen,"

"(9) in Verbindung mit einem Adjektiv der Abstammung (Patronymicum) Stamm, Geschlecht, insbesondere,"

"(10) mānusaḥ janas, das Menschengeschlecht

"(11) devias janas ..... Göttergeschlecht ....."

"(12) selten wird es von einzelnen Göttern gebraucht; in diesem Sinne scheint auch devias janas in 879, 6 den Göttermann, den /.....

(12)(contd.)

den Agni, zu bezeichnen .....

"(13) besweilen findet es Sich, im Singular oder Plural in

Verbindung mit ursprünglichen Adjectiven, die ein Amt oder

Geschäft bezeichnen und ausserhalb dieser Verbindung nur

oder fast nur Substantivisch vorkommen (yúdhvā ... ripavas

.....)"

"(14) pl., Menschen, Leute"

"(15) pāñca janās, die fünf MenschenStämme ....."

Pāñcajanya a word formed from pāñca jana he explains as

"Sich auf die fünf Stämme beziehend oder erstreckend."

'Nighaṇṭu' (III, 3) takes pāñca janāḥ as a synonym of manuṣyāḥ (men)

but does not include janāḥ singly.

Jantavaḥ, however, is shown as its synonym.

viśaḥ, vrātāḥ are also mentioned as Kṣitayaḥ Kṛtayaḥ carsanayaḥ

which are found along with manuṣyāḥ, with pāñca like pāñca janāḥ

also appear as the Synonyms. Moreover the five peoples who are

generally considered by the European scholars to comprise the pāñca

janāḥ, are used in plural forms as the synonyms e.g. turvasāḥ,

druhyavaḥ, yadavaḥ, anavaḥ, puravaḥ. But we find the mention of Āyavaḥ

also among them named between druhyavaḥ and yadavaḥ. Hence according

to 'Nighaṇṭu' pāñca janāḥ denotes people at large not limited into 5

tribes and that the six peoples named were so prominent that their

names in plural would signify "men" in general. We have seen Āyavaḥ

in RV. very often used as such.

SĀYANA mostly interprets jana as yajamāna, sometimes even as ayajamāna,

also as śatru and very often as yajamānopalakṣita manuṣya, and rarely

as/...

as prāṇin (RV. I, 191, 4, etc.) or janmavant (RV. I, 182, 3, etc.) and somewhere especially in the Locative as janapada (RV. I, 95, 2 etc.) V. MĀDHAVA and SKANDASVĀMIN also interpret similarly but they very often do not agree with one another in the meaning of the word in the same occurrence. V. MĀDHAVA mostly interprets the word as manuṣya. Sometimes in the plural number, the word is explained by them to include besides the yajamāna - the priests, the sons, the grandsons (SK. I, 102, 5 etc.) and even servants (SK. I, 166, 14 etc. V. MĀDHAVA I, 140, 12 etc.) But the singular jana is also interpreted by them as denoting a collective body. Thus SĀYANA explains "divyo janah" in I, 122, 8 as "deva Saṅghah", and V. MĀDHAVA also in I, 44, 6 "divyam janam" as "sarvān devān", and SKANDASVĀMIN in I, 70, 1, "janasya ..." etc. as "Kṛtsnasya janasya janma ācikitvān / havirnayanādiKarmanā manuṣyānām janmano jñātetyarthah." ZIMMER (AL, 158-9) holds that jana was "the people" which "was divided into cantons (vis), cantons into joint families or clans or village communities (grāma, vrjana) and these again into single families" as reviewed in Vedic Index (I, 269) which notices that the word jana besides its meaning "man" as individual had "a tendency to the collective sense, --- a 'people' or 'tribe' in the RV. and later." Pañca janāḥ, according to 'Vedic Index', is the five tribes and yādvajanah being synonymous to yādvāḥ (VIII, 6, 46, 48) denoting 'the people of Yadu and rājan, 'the King' being called gopā janasya (III, 43, 5) and gopatīḥ janasya (IX, 35, 5) are referred to as clear evidence of calling jana, a tribe. all are in Singular - two in RENOUE (EVR, 34 ff) examines the different uses of the word jana in RV. quite elaborately but has not taken all the examples into consideration /.... instances are I, 122, 8 as 'deva Saṅghah' and I, 44, 6 as 'sarvān devān'.

consideration and has left the discussion of pañca janāḥ by referring to HILLEBRANDT's articles on the subject in 'Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik' (Leipzig, 1928).

The importance of a thorough discussion of pañca jana<sup>1</sup> however can never be gainsaid to trace out the possible meaning of jana as a "tribe."

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<sup>1</sup> pañcajanāḥ is generally explained as synonymous of pañca carsanayāḥ pañca kr̥ṣṭayāḥ pañca ksitayāḥ pañca mānuṣāḥ etc. which are to be examined, with a derivative word pañcajanya.

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#### A. Pañca janāḥ in RV.

Pañca jana is found in Nominative 7 times, in Accusative twice, in Locative twice, altogether eleven times in RV. - in Book III twice, in Book VI twice, in Book VIII once, in Book IX twice, and in Book X thrice and once in Book I. Pañca Kr̥ṣṭi occurs 5 times, twice in Nominative, twice in Accusative and once in Locative. Their occurrences in Book X are three and the rest in Book II and Book IV.

Pañca carsani, thrice, all in Accusative in Books V, VII and IX.

Pañca Kṣiti has six occurrences, two in Accusative, two in Genitive and once in Locative of which two are in Book I, the rest in Books V, VI and VII.

Pañca mānuṣa occurs once in Accusative in Book VIII and

Pañca jāta in Neuter once in Book VI. The word pañcajanya occurs

seven times. Except one in plural (Locative) in Book III addressed

to Indra where it qualifies Kr̥ṣṭisu, all are in Singular - two in

Nominative, two in Accusative, and two in Instrumental, and occur two

in Book I and one each in Books V, VII, VIII, IX. The deities in

the hymns of these instances are Indra, Ásvins and Soma Pavamāna.



In Ait. Br. (iii, 31) pañcajanāh is explained as "deva-manuṣyā  
gandharvāpsarasah sarpāh pitarah" considering gandharvas and Apsarases  
together as forming one class. YĀSKA in 'Nirukta' (III, 8), explains  
it as "gandharvāh pitaro devā asurā raksāṃsi," replacing Ait. Br.'s.  
"gandharvā-psaraso" by "gandharvāh," "manuṣyāh" by "asurāh" and  
"sarpāh" by "raksāṃsi." YĀSKA also mentions the theory that this  
word stands for "niśāda-pañcamāścātvarō varnāh." SĀYANA very often  
explains by the last and either or both of the former views.

About the AUPAMANYAVA's theory which is followed by almost all Indian  
commentators it can be said that the caste division as such would be  
anachronistic for the RV. period. Although VIII, 35, 16-18 (a):

"brāhma jinvatam utā jinvatam dhiyāh ...

Kṣatram jinvatam utā jinvatam nṛn .....

dhenūr jinvatam utā jinvatam viśāh ....

seems to have the nucleus of the later caste-divisions (more appro-  
:priately class distinctions of people, viz. those holding holy offices,  
those who rule and the others, the common folk.) Again in I, 113, 6:

Kṣatrāya tvam śrāvase tvam mahīyā iṣṭāye tvamārthamiva

tvam ityāi /

viśadrśā jūrtābhipracākṣa usā ajīgar bhūvanāni viśvā

the divisions of work among the people, which according to some scholars  
may suggest the above class division, but on no account this verse can  
represent the early RV. period. Moreover Niśādas are not mentioned  
in RV. and it cannot be understood why the Niśādas should be called  
the fifth varṇa. The interpretation in Ait Br. is also not acceptable  
as "Serpents" as a class with the gods, men and fathers who are very  
often /....

often referred to by jana, does not appear very sound. Pāñcajanas may have been used for five groups of people among the pre-Aryans, as argued by HILLEBRANDT (to be discussed,) but in some instances of pāñca janas (along with pāñca carsani-s etc.) which are to be examined below, the word appears to signify five individuals which as explained by SĀYANA in I, 7, 9, etc. stands for the four Rtvij-s and one yajamāna. But the system of the four priests of different duties, viz. Hotr, Adhvaryu, Udgātr and Brahman seem to have come later (Udgātr is not mentioned at all in RV., whose duty came after Sāmaveda was founded on the RV. texts.) We can however accept these five individuals as pāñca adhvaryus which occurs in III, 7, 7 and SĀYANA explains there that without Udgātr the priests are twelve in number, of whom there are seven Vasat kārās and the rest are the adhvaryus. These five adhvaryus might have been referred to in some instances where pāñca jana refers to all mankind. SĀYANA explains that it is suggested by upalakṣaṇa (rtvigyajamānopalakṣitāḥ). In I, 176, 3 again SĀYANA gives a new explanation viz. "devā manusyāḥ pitarāḥ pasavaḥ pakṣiṇāśceti pāñca janāḥ" which can be accepted when all the creatures are suggested. In X, 53, 3 SĀYANA interprets pāñca devāḥ also as "deva-manusya-pitry-asura-rakṣaḥ-samjñakāḥ" which if accepted is also applicable to all the creatures. ROTH interprets pāñca janāḥ as "die fünf Menschen Stämme" and following him KUHN, LUDWIG and ZIMMER also hold that Yadu, Anu, Druhyu, Turvaśa, Puru were the names of the five important tribes of the Aryans. Specially based on RV. verse I, 108, 3 where the names of these tribes are mentioned:

yād indrāgnī yadusu turvāśesu yād druhyúsvānusu purúsu sthāḥ  
átah párivṛsanāvā hí yātámāthā sómasya pīṣatam sūtasya //

ZIMMER says (AL, 122) "Hier haben wir fünf Arier Stämme genannt von einem Sänger, der offenbar nicht zu ihnen gehört. Dieselben fünf Stämme treten uns in der Schilderung der Zehn Königeschlacht RV. 7, 18 als die Feinde der Trtsu und ihres Königs Sudas entgegen; .."

HOPKINS (JAOS XV, pp. 259 - 266) criticizes ZIMMER for his "insistence on the five peoples so conspicuous in this poem" (viz. VII, 18) and he points out that Turvaṅga was the name of a King of the Yadus; ~~not~~ as a tribe ~~as~~ it is found in the earlier books of the RV.

GRIFFITH (HRV, I, 10 fn) referring to BENFEY's explanation of the word to signify the whole world, says that it "seems to mean the Aryan settlements or tribes only, and not the indigenous inhabitants of the country. The five tribes or settlements were probably the confederation of the Turvaśas, Yadus, Anus, Druhyus and Pūrus."

GELDNER recognizing by the term the five tribes as well as "mankind" four tribes in the four directions with Aryans in the central quarter (dhruvā dis) has been criticised by ZIMMER (AL, 119-23.) HILLEBRANDT in an exclusive article on Pañcajanāḥ as referred to by RENOUE, has mentioned a similar view held by LINDENAU in 'Festschrift für Jacobi' (p.257.) He also quotes AC. DAS (Rgvedic Culture (p.301 and p.305) whose view does not mainly differ from that of ZIMMER and KUHN and LUDWIG who follow ROTH in identifying the five tribes with Turvaśas Yadus etc. He cannot also convince himself of any doubt in the correctness of what HOPKINS (JAOS, XV, 260) and GELDNER (Vedische Studien, III, 108) say. He has wanted to find out in vain, as he says, a support of connected names of gods with pañca janāḥ, in order to trace some sort of cult in them. At last he sets his conclusion

"(1) Vedische Bezeichnung einer bestimmten, nicht mehr de finier baren vorhistorischen Gruppe arischer Stämme (2) Spätvedisch: vergöttlicht."

The names mentioned in I, 103, 3 are however explained by SĀYANA not as Proper Nouns, but as different attributive adjectives of 'men' understood, by saying: atra yadusu ityādīni pañca manusyanāmāni /

(1) Yadusu is derived from verb yam in the sense of uparama (yam + Ku + duk, anunāsikalopah) and denotes niyatesu paresām ahimsakesu manusyesu.

(2) turvasesu is derived from turvī himsārthah + tava asa

(3) druhyusu from druh in the sense of jighāmsā (druh + Kyac + u)

(4) anusu is derived from an in the sense of prānana (an + u) and signifies those who possess succesful lives because of the knowledge and practices,

(5) pūrusu (= pūr + u) (pūriāpyāyane - pūrayanti iti pūrāvah).

But these words having the etymological meaning of certain attributes of men, can nevertheless be the names of tribes also, because names have mostly certain meanings in origin.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We can also note in this connection that there are certain interesting points suggested by some modern scholars to arrive at the meaning of pañca janāh such as one suggested by P.S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI in "Problems in Sanskrit Literature" in the Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad 5 (1), 51-54, that pañca janāh in RV. denote ... inhabitants of five tracts, namely Kurinci (mountainous tract: Murukan,) Marutam (agricultural : Indra), Pālai (desert), Mullai (forest : Viṣṇu), Neytal (maritime : Varuṇa) ... these five tracts and four presiding deities mentioned in Tolkappiyanār ...." (Vedic Bibliography II, 83, 86.)



## (i) Examples.

(a) pañca janāḥ:

(1) VI, 11, 4, (cd)

āyūṃ nā yām nāmasā rātaḥavyā  
āñjānti suprayāsam pañca janāḥ //

(To Agni by Bharadvāja.)

(2) X, 53, 4 (cd)

ūrjāda utā yajñiyāsaḥ pañca janā

māma hotrām juṣadhvam //

(3) X, 53, 5 (ab)

pañca janā māma hotrām juṣantām

gōjātā utā yé yajñiyāsaḥ /

(9) IX, 92, 3 (cd)

(To Agni and other gods by Agni Śaucika)

(4) VI, 51, 11

té na indrah prthivī Kṣāma vardhan

pūṣā bhāgo āditih pañca janāḥ /

Susārmanah svāvasaḥ sunīthā

bhāvantu naḥ sutrātrāsah sugopāḥ

(To Viśvedevas by Rjīśvan)

(5) I, 39, 10 (cd)

viśve devā āditih pañca janāḥ

āditir jātām āditir jānitvam //

(To Viśvedevas by Gotama)

(6) III, 59, 8

mitrāya pañca yemire janā abhiṣṭisavase

sā devān vísvān bibharti //

(To Mitra by Viśvāmitra)

(7) /....

(To Indra by Prahāvasa)

(7) X, 45, 6

viśvasya Ketúr bhūvanasya gārbha

ā ródasī aprnān jāyamānah /

vīlum cid ādrim abhinat parāyān

jānā yad agnim āyajanta pāñca //

(To Agni by Vatsapri)

(a<sub>2</sub>) pāñca janān

(8) VIII, 32, 22

ihē tistrāh parāvata ihī pāñca jānā āti

dhenā indrā va cākāsat //

(To Indra by Medhātithi)

(9) IX, 92, 3 (cd)

bhūvadviśvesu kāvyesu rāntā -

-nu jānān yatate pāñca dhīrah //

(To Soma Pavamāna by Kāśyapa )

(a<sub>3</sub>) pāñcasu jāneṣu

III, 37, 9

(10) indriyā ni śatakrato yāte jāneṣu pāñcasu /

indra tāni ta ā vr̥ṇe //

(To Indra by Viśvāmitra)

(11) IX, 65, 23

yā ārjikeṣu Kṛtvasu yē mādhye pastyānām /

yē vā jāneṣu pāñcasu

(To Soma Pavamāna by Bhṛgu)

(b) pāñca carṣanīh

(1) V, 86, 2

yā pr̥tanāsu duṣṭārā yā vājeṣu śravāyyā /

yā pāñca carṣanīr abhīndrāgnī tā havā/mahe //

(To Indra by Prahāvasu)

(2) VII, 15, 2

yāh pāñca carṣanīr abhī niṣasāda dame dame /

Kavīr grhapatir yuvā //

(To Agni by Vasistha Maitravaruni)

(3) IX, 101, 9

yā ojīsthastamā bhava pavamāna śravāyā /

yāh pāñca carṣanīrabhī rayīm yēna vānāmahai

(To Soma Pavamāna by Nahusa, son of Manu) //

(c1) pāñca Kr̥ṣṭayah

(1) X, 60, 4

yāsyekṣvākūrūpa vratē revān marāyyēdhatē /

divīva pāñca Kr̥ṣṭayah //

(To Indra by Gaupāyanas and their mother)

(2) X, 119, 6

nahī me akṣipāc canācchāntsuḥ pāñca Kr̥ṣṭayah

Kuvit sōmasyāpām iti

(To Indra by Lavarūpin Indra)

(c2) pāñca Kr̥ṣṭīh

(3) X, 178, 3

sadyāscid yāh śāvasā pāñca Kr̥ṣṭīh

Sūrya-iva jyōtisāpās tatāna /

sahasrasāh śatasā asya rāmhīr

nā smā varante yuvatīm nā śāryām //

(To Tārksya by Aristanemi)

(c3) pāñca Kr̥ṣṭīsu

(4) IV, 38, 10

ā dadhikrāh śāvasā pāñca Kr̥ṣṭīh

sūrya-iva jyōtisāpastatāna /

Sahasrasāḥ sataśā vājyārvā

prāṇakta mādhvā sāmimā vacāmsi //

(5) asmākam dyumnām ādhi pāṇca Kṛstīsū-

-ccā svārnā śusucīta duṣṭaram //  
II, 2, 10 (cd)

(To Agni by Grtsamada)

(d<sub>1</sub>) pāṇca Kṣitīḥ

(1) VII, 75, 4

eśāsya yujānā parākāt

pāṇca Kṣitīḥ pārisadyo jihāti /

abhipāsyantī vayunā jānānām

divo duhitā bhūvanasya patnī //

(To Uṣas by Vasistha)

(2) VII, 79, 1(ab)

vyūṣā āvah pathyā jānānām

pāṇca Kṣitīr mānūsīr bodhayantī /

(To Uṣas by Vasistha)

(d<sub>2</sub>) pāṇca Kṣitīnām

(3) I, 7, 9

yā ekācarsaṇīnām vāsūnām irajyāti

indrah pāṇca Kṣitīnām //

(To Indra by Madhucchandas)

(4) I, 176, 3

yasya viśvāni hāstayoh

pāṇca Kṣitīnām vāsu /

spāśāyasva yō asmadrūḥ divyēvāsānir jahi //

(To Indra by Agastya)

(5) V, 35, 2

yādindra te cātasro

yacchūra sānti tīsrāḥ /

(To Indra by Asita or Devata)



(a) yadvāpāṇca Kṣitīnām

(1) āvastātsu na ā bhara //

(To Indra by Prabhuvāsu)

(6) VI, 46, 7

yād indra nāhusīs vā' ojo nrmnām ca Kṛstīsu /

yadvā pāṇca Kṣitīnām dyumnām

ā bhara satrā viśvāni paumsyā //

(4) pāṇca jātā

(To Indra by Śamyu)

(The following verse is:

yadvā trksāu maghavan druhyāvā

jāne yāt pūrau kacca vṛṣṇyam /

asmābhyam tādrirīhi Sām

(2) nṛśāhye 'mītrān pṛtsu turvāne //)

(e) pāṇca mānusaṇ

(1) VIII, 9, 2

yād antarikṣe yaddivī yāt pāṇca mānusaṇ ānu /

(3) nrmnām tāddhattam āsvinā //

(To Āsvins by Śāsakarna)

(f) pāṇca jātāḥ

(1) VI, 61, 12 (To Sarasvatī by Viśvāntara)

(4) tri-sadhasthā saptādhātuh

pāṇca jātā bardhāyanti /

vāje-vāje havyā bhūt //

(To Sarasvatī by Bhardvāja)

(g) pāṇca vrātāḥ

(1) IX, 14, 2 (To Asita or Devala)

girā yadī sābandhavah pāṇca vrātā apasyāvah

pariskṛṇvanti dharnasīm //

(To Soma by Asita or Devala)

(h) pāñca (only)

(1) X, 55, 2

mahāttannāma guhyam puruṣpr̥g

yēna bhūtām janāyo yēna bhāvyam /

(7) pratnām jātam jyotir yādasya

priyam priyāḥ sāmavisanta pāñca //

(To Indra by Brhaduktha)

(i) pāñca janya

(1) I, 117, 3 (ab)

ṛsim navāvamhasaḥ pāñcajanyam

rbīśādātrim mūncatho gaṇēna /

(To Āsvins by Kaksivān)

(2) I, 100, 12 (cd)

camrīśo nā śavasā pāñcajanyo

marūtvaṇ no bhavatu indra ūtī //

(To Indra by Rijirāśva and others)

(3) III, 53, 16 (ab)

Sasarparīr abharattūyam ebhyo'dhi

Śrāvah pāñcajanyāsu Kr̥stīsu /

(To Sasarparī vāc by Visvāmtra)

(4) V, 32, 11 (ab)

ekam nū tvā śatpatim pāñcajanyam

jātam śr̥nomi yasāsam jānesu /

(To Indra by Gātu)

(5) VII, 72, 5 (cd)

ā visvataḥ pāñcajanyena rāyā

yūyam pāta svastibhih sādā nah //

(To Āsvins by Vasistha)

(6) VIII, 63, 7

yāt pāñcajanyayā viśendre ghōsā āsrksata /  
āstrnādbarhānā vipō'ryō mānasya śaksāyah //

(To Indra by Pragātha)

(7) IX, 66, 20

agnerrsih pāvamānah pāñcajanyah purohitah /  
tāmīmahe mahāgayam //

(ii) Discussions

(a) In (a<sub>1</sub>) (1) the five janas bedeck Agni with homage, they are rātahavyāh which is according to SĀYANA dattahaviskāh, according to GRIFFITH "bringing gifts," according to GELDNER "Opfer bringend." So SĀYANA's meaning rtvigyajamānalakṣaṇāh pāñca janāh seems to be suitable here.

The two verses cited at (a<sub>1</sub>)-(2) and (3) are the reply of Agni to the priests. Pāñcajanāh called here as yajñiyāśah (yajñārṇāh according to SĀYANA, "Who merit worship" according to GRIFFITH, "Opfer-wurdige" according to GELDNER) refers to devādayah, devamanuṣyādayah according to SĀYANA. Gojātāh is not satisfactorily explained by GRIFFITH (cow's sons) and GELDNER (Kuhgeborenen) ROTH interprets it as "born in the starry heaven." GRIFFITH understands the Maruts, who are children of Prṣni, but this is not satisfactory. SĀYANA's

interpretation also (bhūmyām utpannāh, or appearing for havis made of cows' milk) is not very sound. Urjādah is almost similarly explained by all (annādah by SĀYANA, "eaters of strengthening food" by GRIFFITH, and "Speiseesser" by GELDNER.) GELDNER /.....

GELDNER notes that here pañca-janāh referring to the gods may be either a transfer from the human to the divine relation or a deification of the historical conception of the five tribes as suggested by HILLEBRANDT. There are some other instances also where pañca janāh refers to the gods, yet ZIMMER (AL, 121) translates X, 53, 4(cd) thus:

"Menschen (ūrjādah) rend Götter, ihr fünf Geschlechter,  
lasst euch meinen Opferdienst gefallen."

In (a<sub>1</sub>)-(4) GRIFFITH interprets pañcajanāh, as if it was in the Accusative ... "May ... increase the fivefold people!" SĀYANA explains pañca janāh here as devamanusyādayah as said in Ait. Br., GELDNER as "die fünf Volker." The five gods are mentioned, if Aditi is the name of a deity, but in the next example Aditi appears to be an appellative term.

In (5) Aditi is explained by SĀYANA as akhandanīyā deriving it from "do avakhandane."<sup>1</sup> GRIFFITH also notes "Aditi: the Infinite, infinite nature." But both he and GELDNER in their translations leave the word as a Proper name. Here the whole universe encompassing everything may have been called "aditi." SĀYANA says "evam sakalajagadātmanāditiḥ stūyate." In the first line the heaven, the firmament, and the mother, the Father (who is her consort) and the son (who is her son)<sup>2</sup> are called Aditi and /...

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<sup>1</sup> In a paper "Semantic ~~Notes on~~ <sup>Change of</sup> some RV. words" 'Indian Linguistics XV (3-4) (offprint enclosed) I have discussed in short that the RV. meaning of aditi is "freedom" (abstract) and "free" (concretised.)

<sup>2</sup> This may be the implication of the special uses of Sa.



and in the second line visve devāh on the one hand and pañca janāh on the other and jātam on the one hand and janitvam on the other have been called Aditi. YĀSKA ('Nirukta', IV, 23) comments "...ityaditervibhūtimācāste" Pañcajanāh being paired with visve devāh seems to stand for all men, of course the hymn makers being mainly concerned with Aryans may have denoted mankind by their five tribes only (if the word stands for the five tribes of the Aryans as held by some scholars.) In any case even though pañca janāh gets some elevation of meaning in connection with visvedevāh.

(6) of (a<sub>1</sub>) GRIFFITH translates by "All the Five Races (i.e. all Aryan men) have reaped to Mitra, ever strong to aid / For he sustaineth all the Gods. Mitrāya yemire is explained by SĀYANA as mitrāya havīṣyudyacchanti. GELDNER translates mitrāya pañca yemire janāh into "Dem Mitra sind die fünf Völker ergeben."

Here pañca janāh also mentioned along with visvān devān may suggest "all men," but more probably it signifies those who approach the god Mitra, eventually for obtaining the favour of all the gods whom Mitra represent.

In (7) of (a<sub>1</sub>) pañca janāh is said to worship (yaj) Agni and they may be the sacrificing priests and the instituter of the sacrifice, according to MAHĪDHARA, as said by GRIFFITH. The interpretations of others are not very clear.

In (8) of (a<sub>2</sub>) īhi pañca janā āti can have various meanings. It may indicate that pañca janā-s are the body of five viz. the four priests and one sacrificer and that Indra may come over them. It /...

It may also denote that pañca jana-s may be the five classes of beings viz. gandharvas, pitrs, devas, asuras and raksases that Indra may come surpassing all of them. If the word pañca jana-s is for the five tribes of the Āryas it is prayed for that Indra may come over them all holding his might felt by them as immensely superior to theirs.

GRIFFITH translates: "over the three great distances, past the Five Peoples go thy way, / O Indra, noticing our voice."  
GELDNER: "Geh über die drei Entfernungen, über die fünf Völker hinweg, die Reden beuchtend, O Indra."

The sense of participants in the sacrifice seems to be the weakest so far as this particular context is concerned.

In (9) pañca janāh according to GRIFFITH refers to the five Aryan tribes. GELDNER translates the portion into "Der Kluge macht die fünf Völker zu seinem Gefolge." Here the priests and sacrificers of the Soma sacrifice may be meant or the five tribes. If pañca janāh would mean "all the people" as it has been explained by SĀYANA with niśādapañamāms caturah varṇān, the judiciousness would not have been suggested by a word like dhīrah.

Example (10) is translated by GELDNER into "Deine Kraftausserungen, die unter den fünf Völkern (bekannt sind,) die erbitte ich mir von dir rat reicher Indra."

and by GRIFFITH INTO: "O Śatakratu, powers which thou mid the Five races hast displayed - These Indra, do I calim of thee."

By the five classes of people, the four varṇas with Niśāda the Fifth /...

Fifth or the five classes of beings viz. Gandharvas, Pitr-s Deva-s, Asura-s and Raksas-es. SĀYANA interprets pañca janāh as rather too wide. On the other hand the European scholars generally take the expression to denote either "the whole Aryans" or "the five tribes of the Aryans which appear to be more suitable, as indriyāni explained by SĀYANA as "indra-lingam indra-dr̥ṣṭam indra-sr̥ṣṭam indra-justam indra-dattam" is prayed for towards Indra who has favoured the pañcajana-s with those indriya-s.

Example (11). The verse IX, 65, 23 is not complete by itself. The next verse is the principal sentence:  
té no vr̥ṣṭīm diváspāri pávantāmā suvīryam /  
suvānā devāsa índavaḥ // - referring to the Somas, it is prayed that they may flow (pour) from the sky a rain of heroic (sons) the Somas who are (or are pressed) in the Ārjikas, Krtvas or between the Sarasvatī and other rivers or among the pañca janas. It may be said that the pañca janas lived in a county which was not Ārjika or Krtva or between rivers like Saraswati or others, the fur do not represent the whole Aryan tribes. SĀYANA of course explains pañcasa janesu as niśādapāñcamāścātvarāḥ varṇāḥ pañca janāḥ among whom the Soma is pressed. GRIFFITH translates: "Those pressed among Ārjikas, pressed among the action, in men's homes, / Or pressed among the Races Five - (24th Verse: May these celestial drops, expressed pour forth upon us, as they flow, / Rain from the heavens and hero strength - (Ārjikas are according to GRIFFITH "apparently a non Aryan people in the North West."

ZIMMER dwells at length on the word under Kapitel I Das Land  
AL, 12-13.

GELDNER translates the 23rd verse "Die bei den Ārjika's, bei den  
 Krtvan's, die innerhalb des Flussgebiets oder bei den Fünf  
 Völkern, ...."

(b) Regarding pañca carṣanī in (b) we find the three instances  
 of them agreeing very much in pattern:

- (1) yā pañca carṣanīrabhi ... tā havāmahe (About Indra & Agni)
- (2) yah pañca carṣanīrabhi niśasāda damedame (About Agni)
- (3) yah pañca carṣanīrabhi ... rayim yena vanāmahai  
 (About Soma pavamāna)

(1) GRIFFITH: "The Twain invincible in war, worthy to be  
 renowned in frays, Lords of the Fivefold People, these  
 Indra and Agni, we invoke."

(2) GRIFFITH: "Who for the Fivefold People's sake hath  
 seated him in every home, / Wise, youthful, Master of  
 the house."

(3) GRIFFITH: "O Pavamāna, bring the juice, the mightiest,  
 worthy to be famed, / Which the Five Tribes have over  
them, whereby we may win opulence."

(1) GELDNER: "Die beide in den Schla~~y~~chten Kaum überwind  
 -bar, die in den Kämpfen ruhmwürdig, welche die fünf Völker  
 über~~r~~agen."

(2) GELDNER: "Der über die fünf Völker (herrscht und) sich  
 in jedem Hause nieder-gelassen hat, der Weise jugend  
 liche Haus herr, (3rd verse Agni soll unser häusliches  
 Besitz~~tem~~ nach alle~~m~~ Seiten bewachen und soll uns vor  
 Not behüten)"



- (3) GELDNER: "Bring O pavamāna, den Reichtum der Stärkste  
ist und zum Ruhme gereicht, der die fünf Völker überbietet,  
durch den wir Sieger Sein werden."

SĀYANA explains in (1) pañca carsanīh as pañca manusyān and abhi as raksatah iti sesah (V, 86, 2). But he explains it in (2) as pañca janān manusyān, abhi as abhi/mukham and damedame as grhe grhe nisīdati.

In (3) again it is explained as pañca janān nisāda-  
pañcamāmscaturah varnān abhi tiṣṭhati.

Pañca carsanīrabhi is found in all the three instances and it is very likely that they denote almost the same meaning. GELDNER's meaning is more or less uniform. If the expression is translated by 'over the five janas,' it may be summed up from the three that:

(1) Indra and Agni are "over the five" i.e. the protectors or the guardian deities of the five janas.

(2) Agni sitting in every home "over the five" may also mean as a guardian deity of the five janas in every house. But it is also likely to denote the deity of the five sacrificing people in every house.

(3) The Soma-juice which is "over the five" may also denote the protector of the five. Now who are these five janas here? They may be the five leading tribes of the Aryan community or as in (2) it may be the five sacrificing people.

(c) The examples of pañca Kṛṣṭi-s are thus translated by GRIFFITH:

(1) Him in whose service flourishes Iksvāku rich and  
dazing /...

dazing bright / As the Five tribes that are in heaven.

(2) Not as a mote within the eye count the Five Tribes of  
men with me: / Have I not drunk of Soma juice.

(3) He who with might the Five Lands hath pervaded, like  
Sūrya with his lustre, and the waters .....

(4) Dadhikrās hath o'er spread the Fivefold People with  
vigour, as the Sun lightens the waters .....

(5) And over the Five Races let our glory shine high like  
the realm of light and unsurpassable.

According to GELDNER(1) is "under this vrata Ikṣvāku thrives,  
revān marāyin, and the pañca Kr̥ṣṭi-s thrive in the sky (as the  
sun)." In the note he explains "marāyin" to be either the  
second name of Ikṣvāku or as SĀYANA suggests Śatrūnām mārakah.  
SĀYANA explains "Let the pañca Kr̥ṣṭi-s, i.e. the four varṇas  
with Nisāda the fifth residing in the country of which Ikṣvāku  
the King remaining in the work of protection (vrata) thrives  
....., be happy as ones in heaven having obtained according to  
one's desires become happy. But in this context the meaning  
of pañca Kr̥ṣṭiḥ however does not seem to be "the four varṇas  
with Nisādas." SĀYANA presumes a verb of pañca Kr̥ṣṭayah as  
sukhino bhavantu but as GRIFFITH and GELDNER explain the verb  
may be of similar meaning as upa edhate the verb of ikṣvākuḥ.  
Here pañca Kr̥ṣṭi-s may be the gods as they are connected with  
divi.

pañca Kr̥ṣṭayah in (2) is according to GELDNER the five important  
and powerful tribes of the Aryans. SĀYANA besides the mean-  
ing "niśādapañca/māścatvāro varṇāḥ " also suggests deva-manus  
yādayah for pañca Kr̥ṣṭayah. GELDNER and GRIFFITH explain  
differently /....

differently from how SĀYANA explains. Indra in the guise of Lava says, according to GELDNER, "Let not the five Kṛstī-s be ever once a crank of my eyes," but according to SĀYANA, "Let not them cover up my sight." In any case it does not seem to denote all the people or all the beings in general but some particular people or peoples like the five tribes of the Aryans or a number of ordinary men.

In (3) and (4) pañca Kṛstīs are found to get the might from the gods and they may be the five important tribes of the Aryans or all the Aryans or the divine beings.

In (5) adhi pañca Kṛstīsu as said about the dyumna which is glory (GRIFFITH) or lustre (GELDNER) may denote over the Five tribes of the Aryans, or all the Aryans or men in general. Hence to sum up, pañca Kṛstī-s denotes probably,

in (1) the gods residing in heaven,

in (2) the five important tribes of the Aryans or a number of ordinary men,

in (3) and (4) the five tribes of the Aryans or the people in general,

in (5) the same as in (3) and (4)

(d) (1) GRIFFITH: "She Usas yokes her chariot far away, and swiftly visits the lands where the five tribes are settled."

GELDNER: "Dort hat sie (zur Fahrt) aus der Ferne angespannt; sie umkreist am gleichen Tage die fünf Länder, die Wege der Menschen beschauend, des Himmels Tochter, die Hernir der Welt."

SĀYANA /....

SĀYANA ~~501~~: dūresthitāpi udyogam Kurvāna prakāśāya  
nisādapañcamās catvāro varnāstān sadyah  
parigacchati / janānām prāṇinām vayunā prajñānāni  
sāksitvenāvalokayanti / divo duhitā duhitrstānāyā  
bhūtajātasya pālayitrī ....

- (2) GRIFFITH: "Rousing the lands where men's Five Tribes are settled, Dawn hath disclosed the pathways of the people." GRIFFITH means by pathyā as it is in VII, 75, 1 (But Padatext and SĀYANA make it adjective of Usas and means beautiful.)

GELDNER: "Die Usas hat die Pfade der Menschen erhellt, indem sie die fünf menschlichen Völker weckt. Mit schönen Rindern (fahrend) hat sie ihren Glanz verbreitet. Die Sonne hat mit ihrem Auge beide Welten enthüllt."

SĀYANA: janānām sarvaprāṇinām connected with pathyā  
pathi hitā usā viāvah vyavacchat / or janānām hitāya  
manuṣyarūpāḥ pañca Kṣitīḥ nisādapañcamāścāturo  
varnāu bodhayanti.

- (3) GRIFFITH: "Indra who rules with single sway men, riches and the fivefold races of those who dwell upon the earth - For your sake from each side we call Indra away from other men."

SĀYANA: yah indrah svayam eka eva manuṣyānām irajyati  
iste tathā vaśunām dhanānām irajyati sa indrah pañca  
nisādapañcamānām Kṣitīnām nivāsārhanām varnānām  
anugrahiteti sesah // This ellipsis is not satisfactory.



GELDNER: "Indra der alleinig über die Völker, über die Schätze gebeut, über die fünf Stämme, (istand bringst)."

Den Indra rufen wir für euch von allen Stämmen her; er soll uns ganz allein gehören."

I, 7, 10 is indram vo visvatas pari havāmahe jānebhyah  
asmākamastu kevalah //

(4) GRIFFITH: "Within whose hands deposited all Five People's treasures rest. Mark thou the man who injures us and kill him like the heavenly bolt."

SĀYANA: yasya hastayoh Kṣitayah - Kṣiyanti nivasanti  
gacchanti vā Kṣitayo manusyāh / pañcānām manusyānām  
prīnayitrñi sarvaṇi vasūndhrtāni bhavanti / devā  
manusyāh pitarah pasavaḥ pakṣināsciti pañca janāh /  
catvāro varṇāh niśāda pañcamāh pañca janā ityanye /  
Sa tādrśendra tvam - bādhasva / yo - asmaḥ  
druhyati tam / Kena prakāreṇeti sa ucyate / divi bhavā  
asaniḥ iva asanirbhūtvā asmad/dvestṛn jahi. //

GELDNER: "Du, in dessen Händen alle Güter der fünf Völker sind, mach du den ausfindig, der uns nachstellt; erschlag ihn wie der himmlische Keil! "

(5) GRIFFITH: "Indra whatever aids be thine, four be they, or Or three, or those of the Five Tribes of men, bring quickly all that help to us."

(GRIFFITH (Footnote) according to SĀYANA, the favours or succours given to the four castes; three similarly meaning the succours given to the three worlds.)

SĀYANA: yat yā ūtayah catasrah catuṛṣu varṇeṣu  
sam sritāh santi yat yāsca he sūra - tisrah trisu  
lokeṣu vartamānāh / yāsca pañca janasambandhinya ūtayah -

In (1) and GELDNER: "Ob du Held Indra vier oder drei (Völkern  
 helfen) Sollst, ob du fünf Völkern (Beistand bringst),  
 bring doch ja uns diesen Beistand!"

Instead of the four castes, it may denote the four directions.

(6) GELDNER "Die Stärke, O Indra, und die Mannes-Kraft die  
 in den nahusischen Stämmen, oder die Herrlich-keit der  
 fünf Völker, alle Mannes-Kräfte insgesamt bring her!"

SĀYANA: nāhusiṣu Kr̥ṣṭiṣu yat ojaḥ nrmnam ca yadvā  
pañca Kṣitīnām svabhūtam dyumnam ā bhara / tathā  
satrā mahānti sarvāni paṁsyāni cāsmabhyam āhara. /  
manusya sambandhinīṣu prajāsu (Kr̥ṣṭiṣu) pañca Kṣitīnām  
nisāda-pancamānām caturṇām varṇānam ojaḥ balam  
nrmnam dhanam dyumnam dyutamānam annam paṁsyāni  
balāni .../

GRIFFITH: "All strength and valour that is found,  
 Indra in tribes of Nahushas and all the splendid  
 fame that the Five Tribes enjoy,  
 / Bring yea, all manly powers at once."

(Footnote: Nahushas: people, apparently distinct from the five  
 Aryan tribes par excellence, and dwellers on or near the  
 the Indus. According to SĀYANA human beings in general are  
 meant and Prof. ROTH explains the word as men generally, but  
 with the special sense of stranger or neighbour.)

VI, 46, 8: Or Maghavan, what vigorous strength in Tr̥kṣhi lay,  
 in Druhyus or in Pūrusfolk / - Fully bestow on us,  
 that, in the conquering fray, we may subdue our foes  
 in fight.

In /...  
 in the earth.

In (1) and (2) besides pañca Kṣitih there is also the use of janānām. Pañca Kṣiti-s are mentioned specially in connection with their settlements being visited and awakened by Uṣas.

In (3) again pañca Kṣitīnām is found also with carsanīnām, both carsanī and Kṣiti being apparently the same, but here their derivational meanings may have some special import. As SĀYANA explains pañca Kṣitīnām may denote "of the five of those whose dwellings is specially remarkable." Indra is lord of them and their wealth, as it is also said in (4).

In (6) again besides pañca Kṣitīnām there is nāhuṣiṣu Kṛtīṣu. But both in (5) and (6) a prayer is made to Indra to bestow to the invoker the avas (protection) and dyumna (glory or the like) which the god grants specially to the Pañca Kṣitis.

(e) (1) GRIFFITH: "All manliness that is in heaven, with the Five tribes or in midair Bestow ye Ásvins, upon us."

GELDNER: "Was in der Luft, was im Himmel, was unter den Fünf Menschen Stämmen an Manneskraft ist das bringet Ihr Ásvin."

SĀYANA: gandharvā-dibhiḥ sevite madhyame loke yat dhanam asti / dyuloke ca yat asti / pañca sam-  
Khyā-Kān manusyān anu / laksane' noh Karmapravacanēy -  
-atvam / pañca-vidhāḥ manusyā niśāda-pancamāścātvaro  
varnā yatra vartante tatrā ccha loke yat dhanamasti  
he Ásvinau tat trivi-dham dhanam asmabhyam  
prayacchatam.

Locative antarikṣe, locative divi is followed by yat pañca mānusaṇ anu nr̥mnam i.e. the nr̥mna which is in firmament, or heaven, or following the human beings i.e. pañca mānusa-s i.e. in the earth.

(f) GRIFFITH: "Seven sistered spring from threefold source,  
the Five Tribe's prosperer, she must be /  
Invoked in every deed of might." (FOOTNOTE

trisadhassthā: abiding in three worlds, i.e.  
pervading heaven, earth and hell according to  
SĀYANA like Gaṅgā in later times.)

GELDNER: "In drei Gebieten wohnend siebenteilig, die fünf  
Geschlechter mehrend ward sie in jedem Wettstreit  
anzurufen."

SĀYANA: trisu lokesu saḥavatisthamānā trilokavyāpinī /  
sapta dhātavo'vayavā gāyatrādyā gaṅgādyā va  
yasyāḥ sā tathoktāḥ / pañca jātāni niśāda-  
pañcamāṃscāturo varṇān gandharvādīn vā /  
abhivṛddhān kurvatī / īdrī sarasvatī yudhe  
sarveṣu hvātavyā bhavati /

As the River Goddess Sarasvatī is supposed to make the pañca  
jāta-s rich and prosperous by the gift of the river, this seems  
to denote some five tribes on the bank of the river Sarasvatī.

(g) GRIFFITH: "When the five Kindred companies active in duty,  
with the song establish him the Powerful."

GELDNER: "Wenn die versippten fleissigen fünf Verbände den  
Standfesten unter hoblied zurechtmachen."

SĀYANA: samānabandhanāḥ ... pañcajanā manusyā yajamānāḥ  
... Karmecchavo ... yadā ... enam ... dhārakam  
somam stutyā ... alamkurvanti.

GRASSMANN also gives the meaning "die fünf Menschen geschlechter."

BHAWE (SHRV, I) opines "... in the present context the five  
people possessed of the sacrificial work would  
be/...



be four priests with the Sacrificer."

But he may be conscious of the derivation of the word vrāta from vrata. The conventional sense of vrāta is a "group" or a "tribe" of men or of gods, the derivational sense of vratinah is not improbable. But as GRIFFITH makes a note "five Kindred companies: referring probably to some sacrifice instituted in common by representatives of the five Asyan tribes" - he thus tries to make a compromise with the meanings of the European scholars and the Indian scholiasts. GELDNER suggests "Die Finger oder die Adharyus (Die fünf vrātāḥ ungenau für die schar der fünf)."

(h) GRIFFITH: "Great is the secret name and farextending where-  
by thou madest all that is and shall be / The  
Five Tribes whom he loveth well have entered the  
light he loveth that was made aforetime."

GELDNER: "Das uralte (von ihm) geschaffene Licht, das ihm  
lieb ist zu dem lieben gingen seine fünf leben  
(Völker) ein. (F.N. Worthaplo-logie: Das Metrum  
wird Korrekt und der Sinnbesser wenn man priyam  
zweimal denkt.)

SĀYANA: purāṇam jyotir indrasya priyabhūtam tattvam  
utpannam priyamānāḥ pañca janāḥ svanirvāhārthān  
bhajante.

All the interpreters consider pañca as pañca janān

(i) (1) GELDNER: "Den unter den fünf Stämmen bekannten R̥si Atri  
befreit ihr herren aus Drangsal, mit seinem  
Gefolge aus dem glühenden Ofen."

GRIFFITH:/.....

GRIFFITH: "Ye freed sage Atri, whom the Five tribes  
honoured from the Strait pit, ye Heroes, with  
his people."

SĀYANA explains pāñcājanyam, as pāñca janāh niśādapañcamāscatvāro  
varnāh tesu bhavān / svarbhānūnā grhītamamum sūryam mocayan  
atrih saśeśām hitācaranāt tatrabhava ityucyate /  
amhasah rbīśāt, as pāparūpāt śatadvāre yantragrhe atreḥ pīdārtham  
asurair prakṣiptāt tuśāgneḥ sakāśāt -  
ganena as indriyavargena or putrapautradiganena vā saha.

SKANDA: pāñcābhyo'pi janēbhyah / Gandharvāh pitaro devā asurā  
rakṣānti - ityetibhye niśādapañcamebhyo vā caturbhyovarnubhyo hitam  
pāñcānam hi janānām sthītikarī vr̥ṣṭih / tasyā hetubhūto yajnah  
tasyakertā atrir ity evamasya hitatvam /  
rbīśāt a agnikūṭāt / amhasah pāpāddāhakatvāt / vinā'sakatvādity  
arthah.

(2) GELDNER: "... wie Camriśa an Kraft, beiden fünf Völkern  
beliebt - der Indra Soll uns in Begleitung der  
Marut zu Hilfe Kommen."

Camriśa - According to SĀYANA Soma - but according to GELDNER -  
"hapax legomenon" von unbekannter Bedeutung, nach SĀYANA der Soma.

GRIFFITH: "In strength like Soma, guard of the 5  
peoples may Indra, girt by Maruts, be our succour  
(F.N. of the five classes of beings, according  
to SĀYANA that is Gods gandharvan Apsarisses,  
Asures and Rākshasas, probably the five Aryan  
tribes are intended.)

SĀYANA/....

SĀYANA: camṛiso na Cambām camase rāsātmanūvasthitah soma iva  
śayvasā balena pāñcajanāḥ / gandharvā apsaraso devā asurā  
raksāmsi pañca janāḥ / nisādapāñcamāścatvāro varnā vā / tesu  
raksakatvena bhavah / evambhūtah sa marutvān indrah nah asmākam  
rakṣanāya bhavatu //

- (3) GRIFFITH: "Sasarpari brought glory speedily to these,  
 over the generations of the Fivefolk Race;"

Sasarpari according to SĀYANA - yāk, voice or speech daughter of  
 the Sun. According to ROTH and LUDWIG - war trumpet.

According to GRASSMANN - the mystic cow Sabardughā. Europeans  
 say the 5 janya - 5 tribes of Āryan men, according to SĀYANA  
 4 castes and non-Āryan.

SĀYANA explains Sasarparī as sarvatra gadyapadyātmakatvena  
sarpanasīlā vāgdevatā / pāñcajanāsu Kṛstisu as nisādaparicavā  
ścatvāro varnāḥ pāñcajanāḥ / tatsambandhinīsu prajāsu yat  
śravah annam vidyāti tanno'smabhyam adhi adhikam yathā bhavati  
tathā tūyam Kṣipram abharat bharatu sampādayatu.

GELDNER: "Die Sasarparī brachte diesen (i.e. den Kusika's) gar  
 bald Ruhm über die Stämme der fünf Völker,"

- (4) GRIFFITH: "I hear that thou wast born sole Lord of  
 heroes of the Five Races, famed among the people."

SĀYANA: he indra tvām ekam mukhyameva 'janeṣu' sarveṣu  
manusyeṣu madhye 'ham mantra-drastā śṛṇomi  
rsimukhebyah / Kīdrśam / Satām pālakam  
pāñcanebhyah manuṣebho hitam jātam utpannam  
yaśasam yaśdyuktam /

GELDNER: "Ich höre, dass du allein als der rechtmässige  
 Herr/...."

Herr über die fünf Völker geboren bist, gechrt  
unter den Volkern."

- (5) GRIFFITH: "Bring wealth from all sides for the Five-  
fold People. Preserve us evermore ye Gods,  
with blessings."

SĀYANA: he nāsatyā asvinau - pāścāddesāt pūrvasmāddesāt  
tathā adha - stanaddesāt daksinatah udegdesat  
āyātam / Kim bahunā viśvatah sarvasmāddesāt  
pañcajanahitena dhanenasaha ā yātam /  
niśādapañcamāscatvāro vārnāh pañcajanāh //

GELDNER: "Von West, ihr Nāsatyas und von Ost, von Süd  
und von Nord Kommet, Ásvin, her, von allen Seiten  
mit dem Reichtum der fünf Völker!"

- (6) GRIFFITH: "When the Five Tribes with all their men to  
Indra have sent out their voice, And when the  
priest hath strewn much grass, this is the  
Friend's own dwelling-place."

SĀYANA: yat = yadā / niśādapañcamāscatvāro vārnāh  
pañcajanāh / tatra bhavayā / viśā = prajāyā /  
indre / śhoṣāh stutayah / asṛksata sriyante  
tadān imayam indrah hinastisatrūn svamahattvena /  
tadrsah sah aryah indrah vipah medhāvinah stotur  
mama pūjāyāh satkārasya nīvaso bhavati.

GELDNER: "Als von dem zum fünf Völker verband gehörigen  
Stamme die Rufe zu Indra entstandt worden waren,  
...."

- (7) GRIFFITH: "Agni is Pavamāna, Sage, Chief Priest of all  
the Races Five; / To him whose wealth is great  
we pray."



SĀYANA: nisādapāñcamāscatvāro varṇāḥ pañcajanāḥ / yadvā /  
gandharvāḥ pitaro devā asurā rakṣasāḥ śiṭyete  
pañcajanāḥ / athavā deva-manusya  
gandharvāpsarasāḥ sarpāḥ pitara iti brāhmaṇe  
bhiḥ tāḥ pañcajanāḥ / bhavārthe ṅapratyayaḥ /  
tesāṃ tattadabhiṣṭa - pradānena svabhūtaḥ / ṛṣiḥ  
sarvasya draṣṭā / pavamānaḥ tadṛṣṇī pūrohitāḥ  
Karmārtham ṛtvigbhiḥ puro nihitāḥ / tam pūrvo -  
Kṭalakṣaṇam / mahāgayaṃ mahadbhirdevādibhir api  
gṛbhiḥ gātavyam / mahānti prabhūtaṇi  
yajñagrāhaṇi vā yasyaṣa tathoktaḥ / tam pavamāna-  
guna viśiṣṭam agnim dhanādīni yācāmahe /

GELDNER: "Der sich läuternde (Soma) ist Agni, der Ṛṣi,  
 der über die fünf Völker gesetzte Vormund Ihn  
 bitten wir um grossen Hausstand."

Agni is the guarding placed over the five.

The study of pañca jana and its synonyms in RV. shows that there seem to be references of some important peoples by pañca jana-s, they may not be "tribes" in true sense of the term and they may have been known as important and favoured peoples to the gods especially to Indra and some of them may have been Agni worshipers also and may have loved Soma drink. The sun rises mightily over them. Usas is mentioned to come towards them and awaken them. The river Sarasvatī nourishes them. They might have been referred to in the examples a (3), (10), (11); c (2), d (1), (5), (6); f and h. But sometimes it appears that pañca jana-s refer to "all mankind" - in the examples a (5), c(1), (3), (4), (5) and also d (2), (3), (4), (5), (6) and e. This change /...

change of meaning is due to the figurative application of the word, and this cannot be said to have happened at the later period of the RV. because some of the examples belong to Mandalas II, IV, V, VI also besides I and X. In some instances especially to Agni the five individuals with reference to the fire worship are referred to. These are seemingly the five Adhvaryus or the four priests with the yajamāna. The instances are in a (1), (7), (9) and (g). In a (6) the meaning may be so or may be all/men too. In a (8) and b also the meaning may be the five Adhvaryus or the five peoples. In a(2), (3), (4) and c (1), it is very likely that pañca jana has a deified reference, i.e. referring to the five individual gods, it is not easy to discriminate them.

#### B. Jana in RV.

(i) Jana in some instances other than pañca jana also seems to denote 'the people' or 'the tribe.'

(a) Among those instances where jana is apparently not a term for a social group of men, some can be cited where jana is qualified by daivya, divya etc.

(1) In VI. 52, 12; VIII, 44, 9; VI, 16, 6; V, 13, 3 and in I. 45, 10; X, 53, 6; I, 31, 17; I, 45, 9, it is said about Agni that he brings the daivya jana to the sacrifice so that they can partake the sacrificial offerings. Thus daivya jana in singular functioning as a collective noun seems to denote the host of heaven / das göttliche volk. It is also said about Soma Pavamāna, when in IX, 71, 8; IX, 84, 1, daivya jana is sought /....

sought with food by and sounded to by Soma and in IX, 80, 5 and IX, 84, 3 both of which have the same reading, it is said that Indra (and) the daivya jana are delighted by Soma. In VI, 38, 1, where daivya jana found in the Genitive Case Singular, although differently connected by the different interpreters, nevertheless seems to denote "the gods." In IX, 71, 8 daivya janam may however have specifically been used for the band of the Maruts. In VII, 53, 2 dyāvā prthivī is invited with the daivya jana. To Varuna, it is said in VII, 89, 5 if an offence has been committed against the daivya jana, he should excuse them for that. In IV, 54, 3 again similar prayer is made to Savitr where definitely daivya jana stands opposed to manusyāh. In X, 57, 5, the Pitrs are addressed so that they may give the Spirit. (to be suitable.)

The word divya with jana occurring in X, 63, 17 and X, 64, 17 which are alike is rendered as devaganah by SĀYANA, as "Heavenly Folk" by GRIFFITH, as "himmlische Volk" by GELDNER. Indra is called the rājan of divya jana and of pārthiva jagat in VI, 22, 9. In IX, 91, 2 the Soma drop is said the banquet of divya jana. In all these instances jana stands as a collective noun indicating the group of the divine beings, the gods.

Divē janāya in VI, 18, 14 is also mentioned by RENOULT<sup>1</sup> among the examples of daivya (divyā) jana. GRIFFITH and GELDNER translate the two words separately connected with "and" ("to .. Heaven /...").

<sup>1</sup> "Il n'ya pas l'opposition avec devā que note le groupe manu (et dérivés.) On parle au contraire du daivya (divyā) jana (une fois deva.jana; divē janāya, littéralement <<au ciel, aux gens>> VI, 18, 14) <<le peuple des dieux, la gent du ciel>>" - (EVR, p. 34)

Heaven and to the people," "dem ... Himmel, dem Volke." But SĀYANA's first explanation is "stotre janāya" which is not so satisfactory and the second is "dyuloka-nivāsāya janāya."

In II, 4, 1 ādeve jāne is translated by GRIFFITH into "among godly people" and by GELDNER into "unter dem götter freundlichen Volke" - but according to SĀYANA it is devaparyante jane i.e. manusyaprabhrtidevaparyantesu. In any case jane is explained here as "human being" not as the class of beings, as we have seen in the case of daīvyā (divyā) jāna.

(2) As opposed to daīvyā (divyā) jāna, we have the instances of mānuṣa jāna in V, 14, 2; V, 21, 2; VI, 16, 1; VIII, 64, 10; I, 48, 11; X, 118, 9 (mānuse jāne, GRIFFITH's translation of which by "among mankind" seems to be suitable.) I, 70, 1 (mānuṣasya jānasya jānma - "the race of mortal man" (GRIFFITH) "die Geschlechter des Menschen Volks" (GELDNER)) "manusyajātasya utpattirūpam (SĀYANA and V. MĀDHAVA also).) In all these instances also jana denotes "A collection of beings," mānuṣa meaning "human" having delimited the connotation to "the class of human beings."

(3) jana qualified by devayā in V, 48, 2 and IV, 9, 1 by adevayā in IX, 63, 24, by adevīh in VI, 49, 15, by suvratam in VI, 49, 1, seems to denote the "class" only and not "men."

(4) dva jānā in IX, 86, 42, as quoted by RENOUE to denote "hommes et dieux" cannot however be held to express the same definitely as stotr and yastr. The two classes suggested by SĀYANA may also be the possible meaning of it and the same expression dva jānā in I, 131, 3 is explained by SĀYANA as "the husband /...



husband and wife in a sacrifice" which appears plausible, but GRIFFITH gives a military significance in calling it "the two mutual combatants." GELDNER also supports it and refers to janau in V, 34, 8 which SĀYANA also explains as paraspara-pratidvandūnau.) Along with this can be mentioned the instance of ubhāye jānāḥ in II, 24, 10 which are in plural denoting two types or classes, maybe human and divine beings, or stotr-s and vajamānas as explained by SĀYANA. In any case jana here does not appear to denote a social group of people. Visve jānāsaḥ in VII, 6, 6 denotes all men referring to those who worship Agni. But here also jānāsaḥ may not express any group of people, it may simply mean "all," although visva is very often used with jana in the singular, as in IX, 35, 6 and V, 34, 7 and sarva also with jana in X, 141, 4 (with naḥ meaning "all our people" or "all of us.") Here evidently jana is considered as a combined whole of persons not the plurality of the individuals which is expressed in the use of visve jānāsaḥ.

(5) RENO<sup>1</sup> seems to be correct when he takes the above instance of sārvo jānāḥ in X, 141, 4 to illustrate the indefinite value of the word jana. Similarly can be explained the four instances of abhitāḥ jānāḥ. In VII, 55, 5:

sāstu mātā sāstu pitā sāstu svā sāstu viśpātiḥ //  
sasāntu sarve jñātāyaḥ sāstu ayam abhito jānāḥ //

<sup>1</sup> "Le valeur est <<in définie>>; jāna équivaut souvent à <<quicumque>>, à <<on>> (VIII, 47, 6), d'où les formules yó jānāḥ VII, 55, 6 sārvo jānāḥ X, 141, 4 sāsrate jānāya (VIII, 23, 28 (au sing.))" - (Op. cit p. 34)

where "everybody round about" seems to be the meaning of abhito janah. It cannot be said definitely what "sleep all the people who are round about" (GRIFFITH) or "diese heute allenthalben sollen schlafen" (GELDNER) can mean, whether it is "The man who sits, the man who walks and whosoever looks on us" (GRIFFITH - VII, 55, 6) are actually meant by "abhito janah," whether people were on guard in the house who are referred to here. In no case however jana in this instance can be mentioned to have signified "a social group of people." In X, 133, 4:

yó na indrābhito jāno vrkāyúr ādidesati ....

where abhito janah may have signified "everybody round about" who is designated vrkāyu.

The plural of jana and abhitah is also found in the other two instances:

mūnyantu anye abhito jānāsaḥ (X, 81, 6 (c) )

where with anye the plurality of all other individuals may have been denoted, and adhaspadā iccaidyāśya Kṛṣṭāyaś carmanā abhito jānāḥ (VIII, 5, 38 (cd) ) where also abhito janāḥ seems to denote "all the individuals round about." In all these and in instances where jana is qualified by pronominal instances where jana is qualified by pronominal adjectives as in imam janam (V, 65, 6), imé janāḥ (VIII, 74, 6), ayam janah (X, 26, 2), ātra janāya (VII, 65, 4) - (these four instances only are quoted by RENOUE) and imé janāḥ (VIII, 40, 7) (VIII, 43, 29) VIII, 46, 32), (VIII, 1, 3) esām janānām (IX, 64, 27) (IX, 52, 4.) We agree with RENOUE, "Le pronom démonstratif Oriente vers les personnes/...

personnes présentes ..." (Op cit. p. 34). In one instance it is quite apparent where asmin jane refers to a single person and that is a woman viz. the co-wife in X, 145, 4 nā hyāsya nāma gr̥bhñāmi nō asmin ramate jāne. In bitter hatred she is referred to by just a "pointer - adjective" with jana a vague word.

sā jāna in I, 41, 1; I, 54, 7; I, 86, 1 is qualified by an adjective clause with yah or yasya where jana seems to carry no additional sense. Similarly superfluous can be called the use of janah with yah in I, 122, 8 and 9; I, 136, 5; I, 182, 3. Jana in these examples and others substantivise the adjectives<sup>1</sup> jāno nā yūdhvā in IX, 88, 5 with some other instances has been quoted by RENOUE in this connection.

(6) Not any particular "tribe," nor a "band of people" is the meaning of jana in many instances. By jana in some instances not only human beings but the gods also may be referred to. In VIII, 30, 2 Indra is called visvesu senyo jānesu; in I, 177, 1 Indra is again called ṛṣabho jānānām with also rājā Kr̥stīnām and carsanīprā. Of course jana here may be denoting the human being alone also the hymn-maker being primarily concerned with human beings and Indra is referred to as a hero among the men.

(7) A wide sense is often obtained for jana, which sometimes signifies "the creature" in general. SĀYANA explains some /...

<sup>1</sup> "Le terme sert du support à des substantifs divers ..... c'est une aide apportée à la substantification d'un adjectif." RENOUE (op. cit. p.34)

some of them as prānin, but the European scholars invariably translate them by "man." In X, 40, 4; X, 156, 4; I, 55, 5 it is said for the janas (Dative Plural) Asvins bring food, Agni holds the reaiance and Indra makes the battles. In V, 80, 2, Usas wakes up the jana (Accusative Singular) making the pathways easy to be travelled; in VII, 79, 1 Usas is pathyā of the janas (Genitive Plural) and also in VII, 75, 4 she is looking over the janas (Genitive Plural); in III, 59, 1 Mitra sets jana-s (Accusative Plural) to activity, in VII, 36, 2 also Mitra sets the jana (Accusative Singular) to activity and in VIII, 102, 12, mitra is called yātayajjana and in V, 72, 2, Mitrāvarunā are called yātayajjanā, in VI, 67, 3 Mitra and Varuna set the jana-s (Accusative Plural) to activity; in VI, 36, 4 Indra is the unequal sole lord of the janas (Genitive Plural); in I, 35, 5 Savitr manifests light to all janas (Accusative Plural); in I' 37, 12 Maruts make the janas (Accusative Plural) move("stir the creatures to action" according to SĀYANA, but according to the European scholars, "shake or cast the men down,"); in I, 50, 3 Sūrya watches over (according to SĀYANA) or are seen over (according to the European scholars) all the jana-s (Accusative Plural); in I, 50, 6 Varuna looks upon the janas (Accusative Plural); in X, 14, 2 the two dogs (messengers) of Yama move over the janas (Accusative Plural); in V, 2, 6 Agni is the home of the janas (Genitive Plural); in VII, 63, 2 and 4 (Nominative Plural and Genitive Plural) Sūrya is the inspiritor of the janas; in I' 92, 17 the two Asvins bring light from heaven for the jana (Dative Singular.) Agni is /.....



is enquired as to who among the janas is his Kin in I, 75, 3 and 4.

(8) In some instances, however, jana may not refer to any creature other than man, e.g. prāgne tistha jānā āti (VIII, 60, 16, d) "Agni, rise up above the men," GRIFFITH), prā nū sā mārtaḥ śavasā jānā āti tasthau va ūtī maruto yam āvata (I, 64, 13, ab) ("Maruts, the man whom ye have guarded with your help, he verily in strength surpasseth all mankind." GRIFFITH.) visvet sā dhībhiḥ subhāgo jānā āti dyumnair udgā-iva tārisat (VIII, 19, 14) ("... Blest with his thoughts in splendour shall exceed all men as though he overpassed the floods." GRIFFITH.) The plural number of the word can as well give the meaning surpassing all the tribes or the different groups of men and the implication remains the same. But when it is an individual who surpasses the janas, the latter seems not to indicate "groups" (plural.) In I. 132, 5 Indra looks at the janas with his might. In the Mitra-varuna hymn in VII, 61, 5, guile is said to follow the dishonesty or falsehood of the people.

gātum Kr̥navannuśaso jānāya (IV, 51, 1 d) gātu is translated by GRIFFITH by "welfare" while GELDNER translates it by "den Weg" and SĀYANA explains it as gamanādi vyāpārasāmarthyam.

cikituse jānāya in VII, 104, 12 and VIII, 101, 15 refers to a wise man; jānāya justo adruhe in IX, 9, 2 also may refer to a man as such, SĀYANA explaining it as stotre while GRIFFITH and GELDNER translate it by "People" and "Leute."

janapāna in IX, 110, 5 referring to a well, where all men drink from /....

from has the sense of jana in it as "people" in general. with Janayopana in X, 36, 22 also has the jana in the sense of people in general.

In VIII, 93, 11 na devó nádhriḡur jānāḥ makes a contrast of jana with deva and thus jana means "mankind" opposed to "the divine being."

(9) In a large number of instances, jana occurs in the context of religious rites. Among these, jana is very often qualified by vr̥ktavarhis. In I, 1 Agni is addressed by the vr̥ktavarhis. In III, 2, 5 such vr̥ktavarhisāḥ jānāḥ set Agni, but just after this verse in III, 2, 6, vr̥ktavarhisāḥ narah are found the dwelling place of Agni, wherefrom apparently jānāḥ has not the sense of groups of people. To Agni in X, 91, 9 is similarly said about the vr̥ktavarhis Manu-s who being devayantāḥ set the fire. In V, 35, 6 and VIII, 6, 37 Indra is given oblation by vr̥ktavarhis janas. In VIII, 97, 1 also Indra is addressed to give prosperity to those who are vr̥ktavarhises to him. Thus in the sacrificial hall the sacred grass is spread over for the gods by men who are often called jana and sometimes without it (In VIII, 97, 1 vr̥ktavarhisāḥ occurs singly without jānāḥ or anything. In one instance i.e. in I, 14, 5 addressing Agni it is said:

īlate tvām avasyavaḥ Kānvāso vr̥ktavarhisāḥ /  
havīsmanto aramkṛtāḥ //

("The sons of Kanva fain for help adore thee having strewn the grass, / With offerings and all things prepared.) This example shows that the Kanvas are vr̥ktavarhisāḥ but this is not appellative /....

appellative nor designatory. The singular janam occurs with vrktavarhisam in I, 40, 7:

Kó devayāntam asnavajjanam Kó vrktāvashisam /

..... Ksāyam dadhe //

And in III, 59, 9 janāya, the Dative Singular form is qualified by vrkta varhise, where Mitra is said to be fulfilling the Law (iṣah) for the jana who is vrktavarhis where jana may be an individual or a number of persons, but evidently not a social group. Then again in V, 1, 1 Agni is awakened by the samidhs of the janas who may be the sacrificing individuals.

In III, 19, 4 addressing the god Agni it is said:

bhūrīni hí tvé dadhiré anīkāgne devāsya yājyavo janāsaḥ

("Men as they worship thee, The God, O Agni have set on thee full many a brilliant aspect" GRIFFITH.)

In III, 58, 4 (b) visve janāso asvinā havante".....men, ...

invocate the Asvins." In II, 23, 15 to Brhaspati it is prayed that a wealth dyumat and Krātumad jānesu and in II, 39, 2

dāmpatīva Kratuvidā jānesu - the janas seem to be not among particular groups of people but among "people" only. SĀYANA

suggests the meaning janapadesu for jānesu which appears to be not necessary to presume. In VIII, 53, 3 jānesu connected with

sunvire also signify "among the people, engaged in religious

rites." Janāsaḥ in VIII, 43, 27; VIII, 74, 2 and 12 is connected with indhate, havismantah and īlate; and also in VIII, 26, 22

is connected with sutāvantah; in VII, 100, 4 with Kīrayah (i.e.

stotārah according to SĀYANA); in X, 104, 5 with manhiṣṭhāmūtiṃ

vitire dadhānāḥ stotārah; in X, 112, 7 with hitaprayasaḥ - all

denote /...

denote "people in religious functions." The janas place Agni before them (S, 140, 6); janānām is connected with asadvasī (III, 23, 3) with atithi (VI, 7, 1) hotṛ (VIII, 103, 6) (V, 16, 2) also refer to Agni who is addressed in X, 2, 2 a by "vési hotṛām utá potṛām janānām." Sometimes in the Indra hymns, jana stands for "the invoker" or the persons who are the worshippers of Indra. In VIII, 24, 4 Indra is prayed for bestowing riches to the janas i.e. "to us, your worshippers" (as explained by SĀYANA.) In X, 43, 6 and X, 96, 12 it is prayed the hymns and the eager wishes (according to GRIFFITH; SĀYANA's prayuktā aśvah for prayujah appears to be unsatisfactory) of the janas i.e. worshippers would bring Indra, in X, 27, 19 Indra attends (sisakti according to SĀYANA is sevate) the time of sacrifice of the janas; in X, 33, 1 the different gods are said to be the impeller of the janas. In II, 20, 2 Indra is called to protect the janas who desire Him from the enemies; in VI, 44, 9 Indra is entreated to check the many foes of the janas referring to the invokers by asme.

(10) Among all these instances of jana where with reference to the religious context people doing religious rites are generally meant by the term, there are a few instances such as in

VII, 16, 2: sá yojate aruṣā viśvábhojasā

sá dudravat svāhutah /

subrahmā vajñāh susāmā vāsūnām

devām rādho janānām //

where janānām is taken with vāsūnām by SĀYANA in the sense of vāsakānām janānām vasiṣṭhānām connected with rādhaḥ which he explains /....



explains as haviḥ with abhiḡacchatu presumed. An alternative meaning is also suggested by him, i.e. vasūnām as dhanānām connected with rādho dhanam of the janas i.e. yajamānas.

Vasistha is the Rṣi of the hymn. V. MĀDHAVA explains janānām as yajamānānām. According to GRIFFITH vasūnām devam rādho janānām is "heavenly gift of wealth to men," but GELDNER translates "Den Vasu's gehört das Opfer mit guten segenswort und gutem Dienst den Menschen die göttliche Belohnung."

In the same hymn VII, 16, 7:

tvé agne svāhuta priyāsah santu sūrayah /  
Yantāro yé maghāvāno janānām ūrvādayanta gōnām //

where janānām is explained by SĀYANA as asmadīyānām. GRIFFITH translates "our wealthy patrons who are governors of men."

GELDNER: "Sollen die hohnherren beliebt sein die freigebigen Lenker der Völker."

In VII, 20, 8 yāsta indra priyó jāno .... may have the word jāna in the sense of "a tribe," but it can be simply explained as "a group of people devoted to you, Indra."

The question Kāsmīn nā yatatho jāne in V, 74, 2, c, with other questions addressed to the Āsvins by Paura the Rṣi and the other questions seem to be answered later in verse 4, ab:

paurām cid dhyudaprūtam paūra paurāya jīnvathah

So Paura's men may be the denotation of jana. But jane is explained by SĀYANA and other Indian interpreters as yajamāne. Of course jana can be an indefinite term for any body of people and it may thus be used for Pauras who are the worshippers here. All the other instances where the context is religious jana may not /....

not be a term for social group but may be the number of men who are all doing the religious rites etc. (e.g. savanāni janānām (X, 89, 6) havamānā janāh (I, 102, 5) )

(11) The use of jana in the Singular can be explained in the ritual contexts also as a collective body of the people who are commonly interested in the particular religious rites. In IV, 44, 4 to the Āsvins, bestowal of riches is prayed for:

dādhatō rātnam vidhatē janāya (Instead of a single man arranging the Soma sacrifice, a group of persons who are in the affairs is the likely meaning of janāya, although SĀYANA explains it as mahyam.) Usas, it is said in VII, 75, 6 gives bounty to the jana who serve (dādhatī rātnam vidhatē janāya.) So also janāya rātā havise (II, 34, 8), suhavise janāya (IV, 2, 4), svadhvarām janam (VIII, 5, 33) susrāvasam janam (I, 49, 2) janāya dāsūse (I, 44, 4) (VII, 70, 3) dāsūrir ... janah (VIII, 4, 12) ānuvrate jāne (I, 34, 4.)

(12) Jana is used in many instances for "the enemy" in general, janān in citayemā janā āti (II, 2, 10) seems to denote "the rivals" not "the bands of enemies" (SĀYANA explains asmatsamānān atikramya jñāyemahi, GELDNER: "den (anderen) Leuten auszeichnen."); yodhayā ca Kṣayayā ca janān (III, 46, 2) seems to denote Sapatnān (SĀYANA) <sup>Sādhujanān svasthāne</sup> prāhara/sthāpaya (SĀYANA) (GELDNER of course translates: "führe du die Völker zum Kampf ...."); janau in sām yājjanau sudhānau viśvas ardhasāu āved indro maghavā goṣu subhriṣu (V, 34, 8) is explained by SĀYANA as parasparapratidvandvinau. But these seem to be two individuals not two groups of people. janān in bādhase janān (VI, 20, 1) or /...

or janāntsprdho (VI, 49, 15) appears to signify "enemies" or "rivals." In the following examples, the same meaning is obtained for jana, and no group sense is apparent:- III, 30, 1: somyāsah sākṣāyah titikṣante abhisastim jānānam; IV, 4, 9: Kṛlantas tvā sumānasah sapemābhī dyumnā tasthivāmsō jānānām; V, 3, 11: stenā adṛśran ripāvo jānasah; VIII, 18, 13: ririṣiṣṭa yur janah ("Sa janah ... himsito bhavatu" - SĀYANA); VII, 56, 24: jānānām yō āsuro vidhartā ("jānānām śatrūnām vidhārakah" - SĀYANA); VIII, 1, 4: vipāscito 'ryo vīpo jānānām ("jānānām śatrūnām vepayitārah" - SĀYANA); VI, 22, 8: ā janāya druḥvane (janāya is explained by SĀYANA as janasya rāksasādeḥ, druḥvane as sādhujanānām drogdhuh); IX, 52, 4: nī śūsman indavesām puruhuta jānānām yō asmā ādidesati // X, 130, 3: āpānudo jānam amitrayāntam ... X, 69, 2: jetā jānānām ("Śatru-jānānām madhye abhibhavitā" - SĀYANA also SKANDA) I, 31, 9: antārhi Khyō jānānām aryo vēdo ādāsusām (havisām adātṛnām jānānām madhye" - SĀYANA) VI, 45, 9: vī drlḥāni cidadrivo jānānām śaṭipate / vrhā māyā anānata // Besides the word janabhaksah and janamsahah in II, 21, 3: Satrāsahō janabhakṣō janamsahās cyāvano yudhmō ānu jōsamuksitah / ... satrāsaha and janamsaha probably signify "the overcomer of a number / ..."

number, and of the enemy" but <sup>is according to</sup> janabhaksah (SĀYANA janānām <sup>which</sup> sambhaktā seems better than GELDNER's "Menschen vertilgend" as the King in AV. is said "to live upon the subjects." Thus jam in janabhaksah appears to be "people" "folk" in general (c) jana in the Locative case has some special significance. jane mitrá seems to be a special term for a person whose nature can be seen from the following instances, the most notable of which is X, 63, 2, c:

(1) jane mitró ná dāmpati-anakti

As the jane mitra connects the husband and wife (anakti is to be connected with saṃ at the beginning of the verse which is also connected with the verb nināya at the end of the first half of the verse.) Comparison is drawn with Āngiras who like Bhaga connected the Aryaman or invokers (according to SĀYANA) with the Cattles. Prayer is made to Brhaspati at the end of the verse that he may place his rays amongst the invokers as the soldiers make the horses in the battle. GRIFFITH like many others fails to notice the significance of jane mitrah and anakti and translates the portion by: "As Friend of man, he decks the wife and husband." But GELDNER seems to suggest the true sense while he translates the portion by: "Wie ein Vertrauensmann zwei Ehegatten."

He also translates the portion b

bhaga ivedaryamanam nināya by

"wie Bhaga hat zusammen gebracht den Werber (Aryaman) (mit der Braut)." In the footnote GELDNER explains "Brhaspati führt die Angiras mit den Kühen Zusammen wie Bhaga den Freiersmann mit einem Mädchen." He refers to Bhaga as "The stifter" in X, 85, 23, c.

(2) /...



(2) In X, 27, 12, cd:

bhadrá vadhūr bhavati yātsupēsāh

svayām sā mitram vanute jane cit

the bhadrá bride ("Kalyāṇī" - SĀYANA) being well dressed seeks for (vanute, which is generally translated by "asks for") a jane mitra herself. GRIFFITH - "If the girl be both good and fair of feature, she finds herself, a friend among the people" (F.N. - "by her own worth independently of her dowry.") GELDNER translates the second line into "Sie wird eine glückliche Frau, wenn sie schön geschmückt selbst ihren Gefährten auch unter allem Volke gewinnt," whereby he hints at the svayamvara system of marriage. But with vanute meaning seeks for, a jane mitra may be "a matchmaker" also. It may have been signified here in a poetic way that a bride (would-be bride) of auspicious signs (bhadrá) and of good feature (supēsāh) gets the help of the matchmaker to secure a bridegroom by her own worth (svayam.)

(3) In X, 22, 1, ab:

Kuḥa śrutā indrah Kāsmīn nadya

jane mitro nā śrūyate /

SĀYANA explains "asmin dine Kutra Sthāne prakhyātah / Kāsmīn jane yajamāna ijjatvena stutyatvenā-vasthitah prakhyāyate / sūrya iva sakheva vā tadvat /

The reply is in the following verse X, 22, 2:

iḥa śrutā indro asmé adya stāve vajryrcīsamah /

mitro nā yō jānesvā yasāścakre asāmyā //

(asāmi-tā in Pada Pātha)

In /....

In these instances GELDNER does not translate jane mitra as Ehe-stifter. "Wo hat ... man vor Indra gehört, bei welchem Volke lässt er heute wie ein Freund von sich hören?" - "Hier hat man von Indra gehört, bei uns wird er heute gepriesen der Keulenträger, der ..., der wie ein Freund bei den Leuten ungeteiltes Ansehen gewonnen hat." Of course in the sense of "match-maker," we have to presume that the "matchmaker" is a renowned man.

The sense of "matchmaker" might have come to the word mitra with jane which might have had a significance of a "social group."

(4) Besides these there are also some instances where the meaning of jane (Locative Singular) is important. (GELDNER.)

no jane janaya visvavāre (I, 113, 19) "... make us chief among the people" (GRIFFITH) "... bring uns unter die Leute (GELDNER) "asmākam jane janapade janaya prādurbhāvaya avasthāpaya" (SĀYANA), "lokasya madhye dhanādibhir vardhaya" (SKANDA), asmākam jane prādurbhāvaya (V. MĀDHAVA) jane in this line seems to have the same meaning as in

(5) ā no jane śravayatam (VII, 62, 5)

"... make us famed among the people" (GRIFFITH), "Machet uns unter dem Volke bekannt" (GELDNER), "asmatsamāne manusyasamūhe asmān visrutam kurutam" (SĀYANA), jane = janapade (Su) (Mah) (U) (BB) (VM) prakathavatām ittham adād ithamayāksīditi (V) (also Mah).

In these examples nah means "us"; and jane-janamadhye "among the people" where jane does not specify any particular group of people in the Society.

(6) /...

(6) vām vīryā jane prabravā (S, 39, 5)

"We will declare among the folk your ancient deeds heroic"

(GRIFFITH), "Eure alten Helden taten will ich vor allem Volke

Verkünden" (GELDNER). SĀYANA renders jane into loke loosely

in the sense of "among the people" (loke is loosely used as a

synonym of jane even by other commentators such as MAHĪ in

VII, 62, 5 - "itthamadād ittham ayāksīditi loke mām Kathayatam

ityarthah"

Here also the use of jane appears to be not particularly for any section of people.

(7) jane na śeva āhuryah (I, 69, 2)

"Like a blissgiver to be drawn to men (GRIFFITH), "Beliebt wie einer bei dem Volke, obwohl ein Durchgänger (?)" (GELDNER.)

jane is explained as janayitā pitā. the locative being prathanārthe which appears to be a forced meaning. V. MĀDHAVA paraphrases sārthe eva sukha-Karam mitram ā hvātavepeh.

Here we do not find the specification of any section of people in the word jane.

(8) antar icchanti tam jane rudram paro manīsayā

(VIII, 12, 3)

"... they seek among the race of men." (GRIFFITH), "Sie suchen ihn in der Fremde," (GELDNER), "... yajamānasthāne" (SĀYANA) (here the word icchanti has been translated by GRIFFITH and GELDNER into "they seek"/"suchen" but SĀYANA seems to connect it farther with parah with which the singular is purastād icchanti (but SĀYANA appears to have ignored antar)) parah is explained in mandram paro manīsayā (V, 17, 2) as parastāt sthitam in /...

in paromātrayā (VII, 99, 1) as parastād vartam ānayā parimitaya,  
in paro divā para enā etc. (X, 82, 5) para iti sakārāntam  
parastādilyasyārthe.

(F.N. There might be some antithesis with antar on the one hand  
paras on the other.)

GELDNER thinks that jane is "in der Fremde" here as it refers  
to the Myth of Agni's absence and flight in the foreign land  
whom Mātānśvan brought again (3, 9, 5 and 6, 8, 4).

(9) In the Locative Plural of jana

VIII, 53, 3 (Vāl 5, 3) cd

ye parāvati sunvire janesvā ye arvāvatīndavaḥ //

In the first line is said:

ā no visveśām rasam madhvah śincantvadrayah

SĀYANA explains "ye indavaḥ somāḥ dūradēse vartamānā janesu  
yajamānalaksanesu nimittesu ābhimukjane abhisutā rtvigbhiḥ /  
ye ca samīpadēse vartamānāḥ abhisutaste sarvēpi militvā  
indrārtham svarasam śincantvityarthah //"

The second line is translated by GRIFFITH thus: "Drops that  
have been pressed out afar among the folk and thou that have  
been pressed near us." GELDNER: "... die in der Ferne bei  
(anderen) Völkern die in der Nähe gepresst werden."

janesu may be connected with paravati as well as with arvāvatī  
and may denote among the people.

(10) A few instances are found where jana in the locative  
is connected with yasasah.

In IV, 51, 11 cd vayam syāma yāsaso janesu tad

dyausca dhattām prthivē ca devī //

janesu /....



janesu is explained by SĀYANA as asmatsamānesu madhye, vasasah as Kṛteḥ annasya vā svāminah.

GRIFFITH: "May we be glorious among the people, May Heaven vouchsafe us this, and Earth the Goddess."

LUDWIG: "mögen wir glänzend sein im volke,"

Both of them are very similar.

GELDNER: "Wir möchten bei den Leuten angesehen Sein; das sollen uns der Himmel und die Göttin Erde gewähren!"

The word janayade is not found in the RV. and a subtle sense of it might have been expressed in the word jana as SĀYANA might have thought, yet we think that jana here can suitably be

In X, 64, 11, cd:

gobhiḥ syāma yasaso janesvā sadā devāsa il-ayā sacemahi //

SĀYANA explains janesu as janānām madhye.

GRIFFITH: "May we be famed among the folk for wealth in Kine, and ever come to you, Ye Gods, with sacred food."

LUDWIG: "... durch rinder besitz mögen wir herlich sein unter den leuten."

GELDNER: "Durch Rinder (besitz) wollen wir bei den Leuten angesehen sein. Immerdar möchten wir mit der Ilā zusammen sein."

Here also the meaning of jana seems to be "man" in general. But it might have come from "a group of men" also, janesu thereby means "among the groups of men."

With these we may compare the following instance of vasasah in connection with jane (in singular) where it evidently denotes/....

denotes "among mankind" amidst the humanity, not among all men or all groups of men as in IX, 61, 28:

pāvasvendo vṛsā sutāḥ Kṛdhī no yaśāso jāne

viśvā āpa dviṣo jahi //

But SĀYANA explains jane here as janahadesu while GRIFFITH translates: "Indu, flow on, a mighty juice; glorify us among the folk / Drive all our enemies away."

GELDNER also translates Kṛdhīno yaśāso jane by "Mach uns bei dem Volke angesehen;"

The word janapada is not found in the RV. and a subtle sense of it might have been expressed in the word jana as SĀYANA might have thought, yet we think that jane here can suitably be explained as janamadye rather than janapade, and in that case jana has a wide meaning, viz. 'man' in general.

(d) Jana including people of one's family appears in a few instances:

(1) VIII, 45, 28: tarānim vo jānānām ...

where about Indra it is said that he is "the Guardian of your folk." SĀYANA explains it as yusmākam jānānām putra pautrā dīnām śatrūnām tardayitāram.

(2) Similarly in IX, 11, 3:

sā nah pavasva śam gāve śam jānāya śam arvate ...

śam jānāya is explained by SĀYANA as "asmākamp ... putrādaye."

GELDNER also renders "unsere heute"

(3) In X, 102, 8: nṛmnāni Kurvān bahave jānāya

.... jānāya is explained by SĀYANA as svaputra-bhṛtyādilakṣanāya

....."

(4) /....

(4) In I, 55, 4: cāru jānesu prābruvāna indriyam  
jānesu is explained by SĀYANA as ātmiyēsu jānesu.

(e) The indefinite use of jana is found in I' 74, 5 (ab):

tāmit suhavyam angirah sudivam sahaso yaho

jānā āhuh subarhīsam //

where jānā āhuh is used for just like "they say" in English.

(f) jana in connection with rājan, maghavan etc. appears to denote the King's subjects or subordinates.

(1) V, 58, 4: yajam rājanam iryam jānāya

vibhvatastam janayathā yajatrāh

GRIFFITH translates thus: "Give me a King for the folk," although

SĀYANA explains: "... yajamānāya svāminam rājamānam vā iryam

satrūnām prerakam cyāvayitāram vibhvā-nāma rbhūnām madhyamam

tena nirmitam putram janayatha ..." GELDNER translates it into

"Ihr erzeugt dem Volk einen rührigen vollendeten König, ..."

(2) In I, 53, 9 (ab) the word janarājnah is found:

tvam etān jana rājño dvirdāsā bandhūnā suśrāvas pajagmūśah

SĀYANA and V. MĀDHAVA explain the word as janepadā nām adhipatīn,

GELDNER as "Stammes Könige," GRIFFITH as "Kings of man."

(3) ekam ca yō vimsatīm ca śravyā

vavkarnāyor jānān rājā nyastah in VII, 18, 11

where SĀYANA explains thus: "... parusnyāh pārśvaysthayoh

vaikannāyor janapadayor vidyamānān ekam ca vimsatīm ca jānān

(which is according to V. MĀDHAVA adhipatīn) nyastah ...."

GELDNER explains the word as "Leute der beiden Vaikarna's hat der König ..."

GRIFFITH translates the line by "The King who scattered one and twenty people of both Vavkarna tribes through lust of glory."

(4) In VIII, 49, 3 (ab):

yāsām rājā vāruno yāti māध्ये

Satyānrte avapāsyan jānānām /

it is found Varuna is called the King and he looks over the truth and falsehood of the janas.

GELDNER translates the word jānānām by "der Leute," HILLEBRANDT by "der Menschen" and GRIFFITH by "men's."

(5) In VIII, 64, 3:

tvām īsise sutānām indra tvām āsutānām

tvām rājā jānānām //

Indra is called the rājan of the janas who are evidently all men.

(6) In X, 107, 5 cd:

tāmevā manye nrpātim jānānām yāḥ prathancó dāksin-

:āmāvivāya (10) janasya gopā is found again: (ab) the hymn

the King of janas is the first giver of Dakṣinā. But it may be a vague word attributing just a glory to the man who advances first with Dakṣinā.

(7) In VI, 22, 9 janasya with rājan referring to Indra:

bhūvo jānasya divyāsya rājā

pārthivasya jāgatas tveṣasamdr̥k /

just stands for a group of manlike beings as the gods are con-

ceived and it has not the sense of "subject" in connection

with rājan. II, 67) suggests that the accent shows the meaning

(8) In X, 159, 6 cd:

sām ajaiṣam imā aṇām sapātnīr abhi-bhūvarī /

yāthā hām asyā vīrāsya virājāni jānasya ca //

SĀYANA /...



SĀYANA explains the second line thus: virasya indrasya tādīya  
pañjanasya ca viśesena rājamānā bhavāni.

GRIFFITH translates it thus: "That I may hold imperial sway over  
this Hero and our Folk."

GELDNER translates it by "über diesen Mann ... seine Leute ..."

(9) In III, 43, 5 (ab), a hymn to Indra by Visvāmitra:

Kuvīn mā gopām Kārase jānasya

Kuvid rājānam maghavan rjīṣan /

GRIFFITH: "Will thou not make me guardian of the people, make  
me, impetuous Maghavan their ruler ...."

GELDNER: "Gewiss wirst du mich zum Hirten des Volks machen,  
gewiss zu einem König ..."

SĀYANA renders gopāḥ as goptāram. V. MĀDHAVA explains it as  
putrādeh gopāvitāram and rājānam as sarvasya svāminam.

(10) jānasya gopā is found again in V, 11, 1 (ab) the hymn  
being addressed to Agni by R̥ṣi Sutambhara:

jānasya gopā ajanīṣṭa jāgrvir agnīḥ sudākṣaḥ

V. MĀDHAVA explains jānasya gopā as jānasya gopāvitā and MAHĪ  
and WATA also while explaining VS. (Mā) XV, 27 where the verse  
is repeated. GRIFFITH translates the expression with jāgrvih  
by "The watchful guardian of the people," GELDNER by "Der  
wachsame Hirt des Volkes."

(11) In IX, 35, 5 Soma is called jānasya gopatim.  
BHAWE (SHRV, II, 67) suggests that the accent shows the meaning  
would be "the peoples' (divine) lord of the cows" and may  
therefore be the leader of the jana which however may denote  
the body of men interested in a Soma-oblation.

(12) /...

which has been discussed, later under vi.

(12) In II, 35, 15 appears to be suitable in the signif-

āyāmsamagne suksitim jānāyā-  
-yāmsam u maghavadbhyaḥ suvrktim

jānāya is explained by SĀYANA as asmadīya - putrādējanārtham and maghavadbhyaḥ as havirlakṣanadhana-yuktebhyaḥ yajamānebhyaśca. But GRIFFITH takes these two words as "to the people" and "to the princes." But GELDER points out that the former is "dem Volke", the latter is "den Lohnherren."

(13) Similarly in I, 140, 12

asmākam vīrā utāno maghōno  
janāśca yā pārāyā ccharma

SĀYANA explains vīrān as putrā dēn but janān as yajamānān. GRIFFITH translates: "our wealthy princes and all the folk" and seems to miss vīrān. GELDER takes vīrān, maghōnāḥ and janān separately and translates them by "unsere Mannen", "unsere Lohnherren" and "die Leute" respectively. V. MĀDHAVA however strangely renders janān as dāsān which is not very convincing.

(g) The reduplicated singular forms like janam janam, jane jane are important for discussion.

(1) In V, 15, 4 and X, 91, 2, we have janam janam.

The first line of the former verse (the hymn is to Agni) is:

māteva vād bhārāse paprathānō janam janam

The second example (also to Agni) illustrates janam janam with visam visam:

sā darsatāś rīr ātithir grhe grhe vāne vane śisriye  
takvayiriva /  
janam janam jānyo nātīmānyate viśa ākṣeti viśo  
viśamviśam //

which has been discussed, later under viś.

This word janam janam appears to be suitable in the significance of "all men" with emphasis on the every individuality of them.

jane jane is another reduplicated form found in two instances V, 65, 2 and V, 67, 4.

In V. 65, 2 the hymn being addressed to Mitra varuna, they are called rtāvānā jane jane:

tā hi śreṣṭhavarcaśā rājānā dīrghaśruttama /  
tā satpatī rtā vṛdha rtā vānā jane jane //

where mitrā varunau is called according to SĀYANA prasastejaskau, Isvarau, dūradesādāhvāna srotṛtamau, satām vajamānānām svāminau, vajnasvōdakasya vā vardhayitārau sarvesu stotrṣu nimittesu gamanavantau // According to GRIFFITH: "they are

Kings of noblest might, of glorious fame most widely spread; Lords of the brave, who strengthen Law, the Holy ones with every race," according to GELDNER: "... sie sind die Könige von

höchsten Ansehen die weithin bedanntesten. Sie sind die recht mässigen Horren, die Mehrer des Rechten, recht handelnd gegen jedermann." In the explanation of SĀYANA too much emphasis is laid on the act of sacrifice but rtā can be explained law and order, the phenomenal law - as such rtāvṛdhā the furtherer of that law and order and rtāvānā, holder of rightness or law towards every man.

In V, 67, 4, the hymn being to the same Mitra varuna:

tē hi satyā rtasprśa rtāvānō jane jane /  
Sunithāsah sudānavo' mho ścid urucakrayah //

with Mitra Varuna is added Aryaman, and the three are referred to /...

to in the plural number - they are according to SĀYANA's explanation of this verse: "Satyabhutāḥ satyaphatā vā, sunīthāsah sunayanāḥ, sudānāḥ, pāpino'pi svastotuh prabhūṭadhanādi-Kartārah // 80 and 87 and 88.

Unlike the previous instance SĀYANA connects jane jane here not with rtā-vānah but with sunīthāsah while GRIFFITH and others are consistent in these two instances. GRIFFITH: "For they are true, they cleave to law, held holy among every race, / Good leaders, bounteous in their gifts, deliverers even from distress." GELDNER: "Denn sie sind die Wahrhaften, die sich an das Rechte halten, recht handelnd gegen jedermann, gute Führer gabenschön, auch aus Bedrängnis einen Ausweg schaffend."

In all probability rtā-vāno jane jane is to be connected in the same way as in the preceding examples and jane jane is probably "towards every man."

RENOU suggests the meaning of jane here to be "<<les autres>>"

(ii) The discussion of the occurrence of jane with some other words having the sense of a social group is important.

(a) The simultaneous occurrence of vis and jane has been discussed along with vis in RV. ZIMMER (AL, 159, 160) refers only to II, 26, 3 to conclude that jane, vis, janman and putrāḥ are the four social divisions ("people, clan, famille, fils" and (nr) "hommes" "en fonction restreinte" - RENO, op. cit., 35), RENO refers to three passages where vis and jane occurs simultaneously. But there are a few more instances which have been examined in the Vis chapter.

(b) RENO also quotes a series of words in I, 84, 17 cd where toka /...



toka (offspring) ibha (domestic) rāi (wealth) tanu (self) and jana (people) are mentioned in the same case endings, and also a line from IX, 11, 3 where in similar strain jana is mentioned in between go and arvant.

(1) Kas tokāya Kā ibhāya utā rāye  
'dhi bravattanve Kō janāya // (I, 84, 17, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Who sendeth benediction on his offspring, his house-  
 thus: "Thou:hold, wealth and person, and the people?" a sacri-

GELDNER: "Wer wird für Kinder, für Elefanten und Reichtum,  
 It differer: wer für die eigene Person und für die Leute  
 die den Adh: Fürsprecher sein?" en, und (du besorget) die

SĀYANA explains: "yuddhesāhāyārtham indre āgate sati kah  
vajamānah putrāya satrubhir apahriyamānāya dhanāya

(2) apica svakīyāya sarīrāya parijanāya ca kah adhi  
 the second: bravat."

RENOU suggests the meaning of jana here to be "<<les autres>>  
 s'oppose à tanū (soi)", but as janāya is very often used as a  
 substantive with an adjective to substantivise the adjective  
 to mean the near and dear ones (svakīyāya parijanāya coming  
 near to this meaning.)

(2) Sā nah pavasva śam gāve śam janāya śam arvate /  
śam rājan nōsadhī bhyah // (IX, 11, 3)

has already been discussed. The mention of janāya similarly  
 with and between gave and arvate seems to suggest that jana is  
 the serving people who are as much a wealth as the go or arvant  
 or osadhi.

(c) The following examples have the word mānusa by the side of  
jana.

(1) In IV, 9, 5 vesi hyadhvariṭatām upavaktā janānām

havyā ca mānūsānām //

mānūsānām means "of men", while janānām seems to serve the

function of substantivizing the adjective adhvariṭatām, al-

though SAYANA tags mānūsānām with janānām. He connects

vesi with havyā ca mānūsānām janānām. GRIFFITH translates

thus: "Thou comest as the guide of folk who celebrate a sacri-

fice And to oblations brought by men." GELDNER translates

it differently: "Denn du bist gern der Upavaktr der Leute,

die den Adhvaryudienst versehen, und (du besorgst) die

Opferspenden den Menschen," thus giving separate words for

janānām and mānūsānām.

(2) X, 140, 6 has jana in the first line, and mānusa in

the second:

rtāvānam mahiṣam viśvādarsatam

agnim sumnāya dadhire purō janāh /

śrūt karnam saprāthastamam tvā

girā daīvyam mānūsā yugā //

Here mānūsā yugā is explained to be the yajamāna and his wife,

janāh on the other hand is mentioned for the people interested

in the sacrifice.

(3) In I, 58, 6 (ab)

dadhūstvē bhṛgavo mānuseṣvā

rayīm nā cārum suhāvam jānebhyah /

mānusu is connected with bhṛgavah, and jānebhyah appears to

be "for the yajamānas". GRIFFITH translates thus: "The Bhrigus

established /....

serving men.

established thee among mankind for men, like as a treasure, beautiful, easy to invoke;" GELDNER translates it into: "Dich brachten die Bhṛgu's zu den Menschen, der teuer wie ein Schatz, für die Völker leicht zu errufen ist." (II, 18, 1, cd)

(4) Kṣiti also occurs with mānuṣa and jana in VI, 1, 5  
tvām vardhanti Kṣitayaḥ pṛthivyām  
tvām rāya ubhāyāso janānām /  
tvām trātā tarane c'etyo bhuh  
pitā mātā sādamin mānuṣānām //

SĀYANA explains Kṣitayaḥ as manuṣyāḥ, i.e. the Rtvij-s, who extol Agni in the earth i.e. in the altars. Rāyaḥ ubhāyāso janānām is explained as the twofold wealth of the yajamānas both beasts and non-beasts, alternative meaning of janānām is suggested putrādīnām. Then mānuṣānām is explained as stotrīnām asmākam. Thus Kṣitayaḥ, janānām, mānuṣānām according to SĀYANA stand for the sacrificial priests, the sacrificers and the invokers respectively. GRIFFITH does not translate janānām, and translates Kṣitayaḥ by "the people" and mānuṣānām by "of mankind." GELDNER translates the three respectively by "die Völker", "der Leute" and "der Menschen."

(5) VII, 79, 1 having janānām, Kṣitīḥ and mānuṣīḥ has been mentioned in connection with pañca jana:

vyūṣā āvaḥ pathyā janānām  
pañca Kṣitīr mānuṣīr bodhayantē

SĀYANA explains janānām as sarva prāṇinām and mānuṣīḥ as adjective of pañca Kṣitīḥ.

Thus mānuṣa appears to be invariably the human being while jana may be the creature(s) sacrificer(s) or the sons etc. or the serving men.

(d) Kṣiti with jana occurs in a few instances besides those which have been mentioned above with mānuṣa also.

(1) purudrūho hī Kṣitayo janānām

prāti prācīr dahatād āratīh (III, 18, 1, cd)

GRIFFITH translates it thus: "The races of mankind are great oppressors: burn up malignity that strives against us."

GELDNER probably translates Kṣitayo janānām by "die Menschen völker." SĀYANA also explains Kṣitayas as "the people" and janānām as "for the people."

(2) tūbhyam ghettē janā ime

visvāh suksitayah prthak dhāsim hinvantyattave //

(VIII, 43, 29)

where ime janāh is explained as dr̥syamānāh janāh and suksitayah as sarvāh prajāh. GELDNER translates it into "Dir bringen diese Leute, alle schönen Ansiedelungen einzeln schleunig Nahrung zum Essen." Thus GELDNER thinks that suksitayah here means those having good dwellings and GRIFFITH also thinks like that.

(3) VII, 75, 4 having pañca Kṣitīh with janānām has already been examined where according to SĀYANA Usas goes over the pañca Kṣiti-s "mankind" possibly, and looks over all the creatures (janānām).

(e) With nr̥ which means "men, strong for fight" generally, jana's meaning generally remains different.

(1) In VI, 2, 3

sajosastvā divo naro yajñasya Ketum indhate /

yaddhasya mānuṣo janah sumnāyur juhve adhware

Here /...



Here mānuso janah ("this race of men" (GRIFFITH) ) and the narah seems to be the priests.

(2) In VI, 19, 2

janam vajrin mahicin manyamānam ... (IV, 38, 9 ab)

ebhyo nrbhyo randhaya vēsvāsmi ... (IV, 38, 9 ab)  
janam seems to have played the part of substantivizing the adjective mahi manyamānam, the megalomaniac persons, while nrbhyah with ebhyah before it seems to denote the people pointed out.

(3) In VIII, 40, 7

yād indragñe janā ime vihvāyante tānā girā /  
asmākebhir nrbhir vayam sāsahyāma .....//

janāh is qualified by ime and mainly it is said "Ye ime janāh indragñi hvayanti tesu madhye vayam nābhākāh asmākebhih nrbhih śatrūn abhi bhavema."

(f) With Kṛstī there are a few instances of the occurrence of jana.

(1) I, 36, 19

nī tvām agne mānur dadhe jyōtir janāya śāsate /  
dadetha Kanva rtājāta uksitō yam namasyānti Kṛstayah //

SĀYANA explains Śāsate janāya as bahuvidhāya janāya and Kṛstayah as manusyāh.

GRIFFITH: "Manu hath stablished thee a light, Agni, for all the race of men: Sprung from the Law, oilfed, for Kanva hast thou blazed, thou whom the people reverence."

Kṛstayah here definitely stands for men but jana is used here in a /.....

is found in I, 130, 3:

a more wide and vague sense, particularly when it is qualified by an adjective.

- (2) utā smāsyā panyante jānā jūtim

Kṛstīprō abhī bhūtim āśōh / ... (IV, 38, 9 ab)

GRIFFITH: "The people praise the overpowering swiftness of this fleet steed who giveth men abundance."

GELDNER: "Und die Leute preisen ... die Überlegenheit des Renners, der alle Länder erfüllt."

SĀYANA explains Kṛstī in Kṛstīprah as manusyā and the jānā-s praise. Here of course Kṛstī is found to have a wider sense than the jānā.

- (3) In III, 59, 1

mitrō jānān yāṭayati bruvāno

mitrō dādihā prthivīm utā dyām /

mitrāh Kṛstīr ānimisābhicaste

mitrāya havyam ghṛtāvajjuhota //

SĀYANA explains jānān in the first line as Karsakādi-jānān ...

Kṛtyādi Karmasu prayatnam Kārayati and Kṛstīh as Karmavatah

manusyān. GRIFFITH translates both of them as "men." GELDNER translates the former by "die Menschen" and the latter by "die Völker."

- (4) In VIII, 5, 38

yō me hīranyasamdrso dasarājño amamhata

adhaspadā iccaidyasya Kṛstāyāścaramnā abhito jānāh //

SĀYANA explains Kṛstāyāh as sarvāh prajāh who remain at the foot of Kasu the Son of Cedi and jānāh as sarve manusyāstasya bhātāh.

(g) With carsani in one line and jānā in the other one example is /...

is found in X, 180, 3:

índra Kṣatrām abhí vāmám ójo 'jāyathā vṛṣabha  
carṣanīnām  
āpānudo jānam amitrayāntam urūm devébhyo  
akṛnora lokam //

carṣanīnām here stands for of the people i.e. of us but jānam qualified by amitrayāntam has no definite sense of itself it gives a substantive sense to the adjective.

(2) In I, 177, 1 besides carṣanī and jana there is Kṛtī also:

ā carṣanīprā vṛṣabhó jānānām rájā  
Kṛtī ām puruhutá índrah //

where carṣanī seems to have the meaning of man and jānānām has the sense of sarvesām and Kṛtīnām has the meaning manuṣyānām.

(3) carṣanīprā with jana occurs also in VI, 49, 15

nū no rayīm rathyām carṣanīprām  
puruvīram mahā rtāsya gopām /  
Kṣayam dātā jaram yēnā janāntsprdho  
ādevīr abhí ca Kramāma  
viśa ādevīr abhya śnavāma //

where jana has the sense of "enemy" and Carṣanīprā has the sense as in the previous instances.

C. Jana in AV.

Jana in AV. is not so numerous as in RV. and it is found that nearly half of the number of occurrences is already in the RV. (some of them in the AV. are slightly altered, but these changes do not affect /... There is of course an absolutely indefinite use of jana in plural number /...

affect the sense of jana.) Thus we see in AV.:

janah - 7 (3 RV instances); janam - 8 (2 RV.); janasya - 3 (2 RV.); janāt - 1; janāya - 5 (4 RV.); jane - 4 (2 RV.); janāh - 13 (3 RV.); janān - 18 (4 RV.); janānām - 16 (6 RV.); janā (dual) - 2 (RV.); janāsaḥ - 4 (1 RV.); janāsaḥ (vocative) - 17 (16 RV.); janebhyaḥ - 2 (RV.); janeṣu - 6 (3 RV.)

Out of these 106 occurrences, we find 50 RV. instances. Besides, the word janatā occurs once (not in RV.), janya four times of which one instance is in RV. pāṇca janya, janarājan and janayopana occur once and twice respectively but they are RV. instances, and a single occurrence of janāvana is a new instance in AV. while visvajanāna is another new word in AV. occurring twice. So 53 are RV. instances which are repeated in AV. besides the new 63 words formed with jana. We need not discuss the occurrences which are already in RV.

Even in this small number of occurrences (compared with RV. occurrences) is found the varied applications of the word almost like in RV. instances, from the sense of "an individual" to the sense of "the people in general" or even "a creature."

In the first place we notice the use of jana to refer to a person or individual without meaning a man or people. "One" in English might be the correct rendering of it. Mostly it is used for someone about whom anything is spoken either in a relative clause having a relative pronominal adjective qualifying it or with a demonstrative pronominal adjective before it. Sometimes adjectives are used before such a jana only to be substantivised. In this use, jana can be called to be simply 'a noun of reference.'

There is of course an absolutely indefinite use of jana in plural number /... (2) /...



number like "they" in "they say", though it is not so indefinite as the English expression, but somewhat meaning "People say." Then we find the general sense of 'man', either by the plural or the singular form of jana. When any adjective qualifies, a specified type of men is generalised. Sometimes it appears that jana may have denoted a particular people in the collective sense and in the plural the groups of people might have been signified but it is not possible to distinguish very well the plural significance "men" from "the groups of people" without any emphasis on either the generality or particularity of the men.

(a) Jana as the noun of reference ...

(1) yé srāktyaṃ maṇim jānā vārmāni kṛvāte /  
Sūrya íva dívam āruhye ví Kṛtyā bādhate vaśí //

(c) with an adjective which is thus sumat (VIII, 5, 7)

("The people who make the amulet of Srāktya their defenses, - like the sun ascending the sky, it, controlling drives away the witchcrafts" - (Wf.))

(2) yé te devi samitārah paktāro ye ca te jānāh  
te tvā sārve gopasyanti meubhyo bhaishih 'sataudane //

(3) yā tvābhiśrah pūruṣaḥ sva vād (X, 9, 7) / (V, 30, 2 a)

("What people are the quellers, O heavenly one (Fem.) and what thy cookers, they shall all guard thee: be not afraid of them, thou of the hundred rice-dishes" - (Wf.))

(b) With demonstrative pronominal adjectives:

(1) yā idam strī pūmān ākar ihā sā stuvatām jānāh (I, 8, 1 cd)

("Whoever, woman or man, hath done this, here let that person speak out" - (W))

(2) /....

in "they are" (2) ájnātaste 'yám jānaḥ (X, 1, 8 d)

(".... this person is unknown to thee" O (W).) The person may be "her or she".

(3) tvám tānindra vṛtrahan pratīcaḥ punarākrdhi

yāthāmum trṇāhām jānam (V, 8, 7, cdef)

("... do thou, O Indra, Vṛtra-slayer, turn (ā - Kr) them back again that they may shatter (trh) you person (jāna)" - (W) )

The person meant here is a priest of the hostile party who is pointed out by the demonstrative adjective amum.

(4) imān jānān t sam manasas Kṛdhīhā // (VI, 74, 3, d)

("... cause thou these people here to be one-minded - (G) )

In the first two verses the sam-manasyakāma people are addressed and in this verse they are referred to by imān jānān.

(c) with an adjective which is thus substantivized:

(1) Sá cinnú tvajjāno māyī bibhāye (V, 11, 4 d)

Sá māyī jānaḥ could as well be translated by "that wily one."

(2) yád ime Kesīno jānā grhé te samānartīṣu rōdena

Kṛṇvanto'gham (XIV, 2, 59, ab)

where "ime Kesīno jānāḥ" may be translated by "these hairy ones."

(3) yāt tvābhiceruḥ pūruṣaḥ svó yád āraṇo jānaḥ / (V, 30, 2 a)

("Whatever sorcery any Kinsman or a stranger has practised against thee - (BLOOMFIELD) )

(4) suviññānam cikitūse jānāya (VIII, 4, 12, a)

Here also jāna stands for a class of persons cikitūse jānāya =

"for the considerate."

(ii) The absolutely indefinite sense of the plural jānāḥ as "they," in /...ina fōrsake me in foreign land nor kill me" is the prayer (jāna can however have the sense of enemy.) But the better sense is found in stranger's land.

in "they say" is found in the following instances of AV.

(a) (1) mó sú pañīr abhye tāvato bhūnmā tvā vocann arādhasam jānāsaḥ (V, 11, 7 cd)

where the Atharvan speaks to Varuna. According to WHITNEY the latter half signifies: "... do not thou, I pray belong to (abhi-bhū) such pañis; let not people call thee ungenerous (arādhas)."<sup>1</sup> Here of course jānāḥ may have the definite sense also, i.e. the men who find the ungenerousness of Varuna.

(2) mā mā vocan narādhasam jānāsaḥ  
pūnaste prśnim jaritar dadāmi / (V, 11, 8, ab)

According to WHITNEY the first half is "Let not people call me ungenerous; I give thee back the spotted (cow) O Singer ..."  
("They who anger me, making a noise, as flies an elephant, then

(iii) Jana in the Locative Singular jane in XVI, 4, 5 in all likelihood denotes "among the living people."

prānapānau mā mā hā siṣṭam mā jāne prā meṣi /

("O breath and expiration do not desert me; let me not perish among the people (jāna) - (W) )<sup>1</sup> This occurs in a Paryāya hymn and is used in the upanayana ceremony for the good and long life of the child, praying to Āditya.

In the next verse it is said (16, 4, 6):

Svasty adyōśaso dośāsasca sarva āpah sarvagano aśīya

("With /... i.e. "on a person's body" or "on people's bodies"

<sup>1</sup> It seems that "the stranger's land" may be the meaning of 'jane' here - "do not get me killed in stranger's land /clan." But as it is found in the next verse that he may live long with all his gana, it may be presumed that he fears that he may be detached from his gana and may be killed in foreign land among stranger's clan. "Let not prāna and apāna forsake me in foreign land nor kill me" is the prayer (jane can however have the sense of enemy.) But the better sense is found in stranger's land.

("With well being today, O waters, may I whole (and) with my whole train (-gana) attain dawns and evenings - (W) ) where sarvaganah is notable. The prayer is therefore to live with the body of living men all around who at least comprise the gana of the person.

- (iv) (a) Jana in singular used in the sense of 'a man' or 'a person' in general has also been translated by scholars by "people."

(1) utá nagnā bó bhuvatī svapnayā sacase jánam (V, 7, 8 ab)  
WHITNEY translates thus: "Likewise greatly making thyself naked, thou fastenest on (sac) a person in dreams ...."

(2) yé mā Krodháyanti lap itā hastinam masákā iva  
tān aham manye dūrhitān jane alpasayūn iva // (4, 36, 9)

("They who anger me, making a noise, as flies an elephant, them I think ill of like mites (?) on a man (jane) - (W) ) But

SĀYANA explains jane as jana sanghe. He further explains it as tat sancaraṇa sthole. alpasayu is according to SĀYANA

"parimānataḥ alpakāyāḥ sayanasvabhavāḥ samcārākṣamāḥ Kītāḥ

alpasayavat." The imagery is explained by him in this way:

te yathā prāṇi-samcāreṇa hanyante tadvad aham anāyāsena

apunarurbhavam hanmityarthah. LANMAN points out that SĀYANA

seems to have read durhatān instead of durhitān. alpasayu-s

in any case seem to be small insects and jane seems to be "on

a person" i.e. "on a person's body" or "on people's bodies"

but "on the walk of a number of people" according to SĀYANA

seems to be rather out of the mark.

When there is no general sense in the word jane in singular form may stand for a particular person or a particular group of people.

(b) /.....



(b) The biggest group of people is denoted by the word occurring in:

(1) jānam bibhratī bahudhā vivācasam nānādharmānam  
prthivī yathankasam /  
sahasram dhārā drāvinasya me duham  
dhruvā dhenur ānapasphurantē // (XII, 1, 45)

(Let the earth, bearing in many places people of different speech, of diverse customs (-dharmān) according to their homes yield me a thousand streams of property, like a steady unresisting milch cow.)

Here jana undoubtedly means "mankind" of different speech and of various customs according to their (different) habitations.

(c) A more limited group of people is suggested in:

ūdanjāto himāvataḥ sā prācyām nīyase jānam /  
tatra Kuṣṭhasya nāmānyuttamāni vi bhejire // (V, 4, 8)

In this prayer to the Kuṣṭha plant to destroy fever, it is said: "Sprung in the north from the Himavant (mountains), thou art brought to the people in the east. There the most superior varieties of the Kuṣṭha were apportioned" - BLOOMFIELD.

In these instances jana appears to signify the sense of a group of people, group small or large as it may be, somewhat like the later word jāti.

(d) A very important example is found in:

(1) jānād visva-janīnāt sindhut-āsparyā bhṛtam /  
dūrāt tvā manya ūdbhṛtam irṣyāyā nāma bhesajam //  
 (VII, 46, 1)

SĀYANA /....  
 even /....

SĀYANA explains:

atra īrsyā nivartana Kṣamam auśadham sambodhyate / visvajanīnāt  
visvajanahitāt janāt janapadāt ity arthah (ekadeśena vyapadeśo  
bhīmasino bhīma itivat / taṭtā samudrāt āhrtam dūradesāst  
uddhrtam tvām Saktumanthalakṣaṇam auśadham īrsyāvāh nivartana  
Kṣamam auśadham jānāmi.

But the European scholars interpret it differently.

"From folk belonging to all kinds of people, from the Sindhu (Indus) thou has been brought hither from a distance I ween, has been fetched the very remedy for jealousy." -(BLOOMFIELD)

BLOOMFIELD's note that "it simply tries to magnify the cost and potency of some ordinary substance (Kau's 36, 25) by deriving it fictitiously from an unknown country far away" - seems to be right and visva-janīnāt janāt might mean "from all communities of men of the whole world i.e. from the group of men comprising the people of the whole world." SĀYANA's explanation of visvajanīnāt as visvajanahitāt should be understood as consisting of visva jana. As there can be no such single janapada which contains the people of the whole world it is simply fanciful and we can as well call this jana to be a community of people comprising the men of the whole world which is also imaginary but better than janapada.

(2) In gandhāribhyo mūjavadbhyo'ṅgebhyo magadhebhyah

praiśyān jānamiva śevadhīm takmānam paridad masi //

(V, 22, 4) ("We go to Gandhāris, Mūjavans to ṅgas and to Magadhas / Hand over Fever as it were a servant and a thing of price." - G ) janam may mean either 'a particular man' or even /....

even 'a group of men.' The latter half of the verse is translated by WHITNEY into "... like one sending a person, a treasure do we commit the fever," and by BLOOMFIELD into .."We deliver over the takman like a servant, like a treasure (i.e. they shall hold on the takman like a treasure that he may not return.)" Regarding praisyan IANMAN observes in his note: "The translation implies in c the easy emendation to presyan (pra-isyan); the accent and pada reading (prā-esyan) view the word as future from pra-i; the translators assume -syam, and reach no acceptable sense ...")

We think however, that an emendation to presyam as in Sāta valekar edition, would mean presaniyam (to be sent) - "like a man to be sent the treasure the fever we give over." With a reading praisyam as in Jaisankar Harisankar's MS. the meaning would be "like a man who will be sent the fever, the treasure we give over" and in the present reading praisyan janamiva ... etc., we can translate "like one who will send a man, we give over the fever, - the treasure." The person thus sent may be called "a servant" but that sense is only derived from the meaning "a man." (3) In IV, 5, 6, a slightly changed RV. verse (VII, 55, 5) repeated we find:

Both the svāptvayam abhito janah SĀYANA comments "grhādbahih abhitaḥ rakṣanārtham niyuktaḥ ayam janasca svaptu nidrā grhīto bhavatu /"

(v) The following verse i.e. IV, 5, 7 which is also the concluding verse /... and these 'men' may be general or particular. It stands also for 'the groups of people' as the plural of 'a group of people.'

verse of the hymn is:

Svāpna svapnā bhi Kāranena Sārvam nisvāpayā janam  
 Although ot sūrya manyānt svā pāvavyuṣam jāgrtādaham  
 who are meant not to indra ivāristo āksitah //

where sarvam janam denotes 'everybody,' jana here being thus not signifying the same as that in abhito janah. The singular sarvam janam meaning everybody therefore stands for the whole body of persons (as mentioned and even not mentioned) and the word differs in meaning in the two occurrences in the two succeeding verses.

In XVIII, 2, 30, we find janasya in

yām te dhenum niprñāmi yāmu te Kṣīrā odanām /  
 who dwelt tēnā janasyāso bhartā yó'trasād ajīvanah //

SĀYANA explains it thus: he preta tubhyam yām dhenum prayacchāmi  
tathā payasi pakvam yam ca o danam tubhyam niprñāmi tena dhenu-  
Sahitena odanena janasya janimato lokasya bhartā dhārayitā  
posayitā vā bhavet / yo janah asmin loke jīvanarahito bhavet  
tasya janasya sambandhah /

WHITNEY translates : "What milch cow I set down (ni-pr) for thee, and what rice-dish for thee in milk (Kṣīra) with that mayest thou be the supporter of the person (jana) who is there (atra) without a living (without the means of sustaining life.)"

Both the senses of "an individual human being" as well as of "a group of men" are applicable here.

(v) Used in the plural number jana stands for the 'men' as the plural of 'man' and these 'men' may be general or particular. It stands also for 'the groups of people' as the plural of 'a group of people.'



(a) (1) táva vraté ní visante jánāsas tváyyūdite prerate  
powerful man like a bull citrabhāno (IV, 25, 3 ab)

Although SĀYANA gives the meaning prāṇi nah it is men alone who are meant not the other beings.

("In conformity with thy course (vrata) people (jāna) go to rest; when thou are risen, they go forth, O thou of beauteous luster," ....(W) )

(2) ásva iva rajo dudhuve ví tāt jánān yā ā Kṣiyan  
prthivīm yād ajāyata (XII, 1, 57 ab)

("As a horse the dust, she has shaken apart those people who dwelt upon the earth since (yāt) she was born." - (W) ) This occurs in the hymn to the earth and all the people of the earth who dwelt at that time are referred to with demonstrative pronominal adjective and the adjective clause "ya akṣiyan prthi vim".

(3) yastvā Kārad ekavṛṣam jánānām  
utā rājñām uttamam mānavānām (IV, 22, 5 cd)

WHITNEY translates "who (meaning Indra) shall make thee the sole chief of people (jana), also uppermost of Kings descended from Manu."

SĀYANA explains: janānām anyeṣūm sūrajānānām ekavṛṣam go-yūthe  
pradhānabhūto vṛṣaḥ tadvad mukhyam sarvot Kṛṣṭam Karoti / ..

According to SĀYANA ekavṛṣam can be construed with rājñām also, besides janānām or ekavṛṣam can be construed only with janānām while rājñām being qualified by manavānām is construed with uttamam. But in both the explanations janānām remains construed with ekavṛṣam - and as it is a form of the partitive genitive, the /... in IV, 22, 4 (ab)

the King's entity as a human being is suggested - "the only powerful man like a bull among all men." It is notable that in T. Br. 2, 4, 7, the passage occurs with certain variations "sa tvā Kar ekavṛṣabham svānām atho rājan ..." etc. which shows a remarkable change i.e. of janānām to svānām, the latter meaning "of the Kinsmen."

Here although the word janānām is not qualified by any adjective the partitive genitive use of it has made it contextually particularised as "of persons who are connected with the king."

(b) The phrase janā ānu occurring in many instances in AV. also contains the particularised sense of people who follow as in VI, 69, 2 or IX, 1, 19.

(1) áśvinā sāraghēna mā mādhunāṅktam subhaspatī  
yāthā bhārgasvatīm vā cam āvādāmi janā ānu //  
varcasvatīm

("O ye Āsvins, lord of beauty! amount me with the honey of bees, that I may speak brilliant words among the people.")

(2) In VII, 57 (59) 1, in the hymn to Sarasvatī praying for success in achieving what is asked for:

yād āśāsā vādato me vicuksubhé yād yācamānasya  
cārato janā ānu  
yād ātmāni tanvó me viriṣṭam sārāsvatī tādā  
prnad ghr̥tēna

(3) In XIX, 26, 3

āyuse tvā vārcase tvaujase ca bālāya ca //  
yāthā hiranya-tējasā vibhāsāsi janā ānu //

(c) janesu unqualified by any adjective seems to denote "among all men" in IV, 28, 4 (ab)

(1) yāvā rebhāthe bahū sākāṃ āgre prā ced āsrāṣṭam

abhibhām jānesu /

Regarding the first half of this line there is difference of interpretations of the European scholars with that of SĀYANA.

But the former appears to be more convincing because bahūsākāṃ has two separate accents and is not a compounded form as

SĀYANA accepts as he explains it as janasamgha. The latter

portion of the line however is, according to SĀYANA, "tesu utpannesu jānesu abhidīptim śatrvādi lakṣaṇam tattat pāpānusāreṇa yuvāmeva (viz. Bhava and Śarva) prakarṣeṇa Sr̥ṣṭavantān".

"... if ye have let loose (pra - sr̥j) the portent (abhibhā)

among the people" - (W). "Ye ... did visit portens upon the

people" - (BLOOMFIELD.) The European scholars take the plural

form of jana as all men while SĀYANA explains it as those men of the multitude which you two created together - all together carrying the same purport.

(2) But jānesu in VI, 33, 3 cd is explained by SĀYANA

differently:

īndrah pātistuvīṣṭamo jānesvā //

WHITNEY and GRIFFITH translate jānesu by "among the people / folk" but according to SĀYANA this plural of jana include the devajana, manusya-jana, pitr̥ jana etc. i.e. the word jana has the sense of "being", or "creature", jānesu meaning among the

different kinds of beings (godly, human, etc.) We have to note some more examples afterwards where the sense may be human being or being or creature.

(vi) /.....

(vi) To denote all the men definitely sometimes some adjectives are used, one of them is śasvat.

(a) (1) In XIX, 32, 7 cd ....

tēnāham Śāsvato jānā āsaname Śānavāni ca

(" ... with it (the darbhā) I have constantly won and shall win men." - (W) )

(2) In V, 5, 2 cd also:

bhartrī hi śasvatām āsi jānānām ca nyāncanē

("As nursing mother of mankind, thou takest all upon thy lap." - (G); "Thou art a sustainer (Bhartrī) of all, and a hiding place (nyāncanī) of people." - (W) )

(vii) In one instance jana in its plural form is "a class," although it can be well explained by the usual meaning of a person or a human being. This is found in III, 5, 6.

(a) (1) yé dhīvāno ratha Kārāḥ Karmārā yé manēśinah /  
upastīn parṇa mahyam tvam sarvān Kṛnvabhito janān //

("Sagacious builders of the car, clever and skilful artisans, Make all the men on every side, Parna, obedient to my will - G) Sarvān janān may denote "all men for example the car builders, the artisans etc." or may also denote "all classes of workers such as the car builders, the artisans etc."

(viii) There are some instances where besides the meaning human being, we can as well obtain the meaning of any being such as divine, ancestral etc. In these instances the gods are lauded for example as the supervising rājan looking over the janas etc. which may not signify "human beings" alone.



(a) (1) yāsām rājā varuṇo yāti mādhye satyānrte  
avapāśyan jānānām / (I, 33, 2 ab)

This is a RV. verse repeated.

(2) Similarly in 4, 16, 5:

Sarvam tad rājā varuṇo vicaste yadantarā ródasī  
yat parastāt /  
Samkhyātā asya nimiso jānānām aksāniva svaghnī  
ni minoti tāni //

("All this the royal Varuṇa beholdeth, all between heaven and earth, and all beyond them / The twinklings of men's eyelids hath he counted. As one who pays throws dice he settles all things" - (G) ) But Varuna's interest may be with human beings alone.

(3) Similarly in 6, 98, 2

tvām indrā dhīrā jah śravyas tvām bhūra  
bhibhūtir jānānām /  
tvām daivīr viśa imā vī rājāyusmat Kṣatram ajāram  
te astu //

Instances given below a section of the people is understood by jānānam is explained by SĀYANA as prāni nām. Here it is, as remarked by SĀYANA, indrā bhedena rājñah stutiḥ, so when applicable to Indra jana may denote prānin, when applicable to the King jana signifies manusya.

("Thou fain for glory, an imperial ruler, hast won dominion over men, O Indra, / Of these celestial tribes be thou the Sovran: longlasting be thy sway and undecaying." - (G) )

(4) In 7, 22 (21), 1,

Sameta viśve vacasā pātim divā éko vibhūrātithir  
jānānām /

Sa pūrvyó nūtanam āvi vāsat tām vartanirānu vāvṛta  
ékamit puru //

janānām is explained by SĀYANA as janmavatām prāṇinām visve.

("Come ye together all with address to the Lord of the sky; (he is) the one mighty guest of people; - W) *hear the brahm, hence*

(5) tvām asyāvapanī janānām āditiḥ Kāmadūghā paprathānā /  
*has thus* yāt ta ūnam tāt ta ā pūrayati prajāpatih prathamajā

(3) *jana sometimes denote* rtāsyā (12, 1, 61) *in*

("Thou art the vessel that containeth people, Aditi, granter of the wish, farspreading, Prajāpati, the first born Son of Order, supplieth thee with whatsoe'er thou lackest." - (G) *his bolt*)

("Thou art the scatterer of people" - (W) )

LANMAN notes that "ā vapana" seems to mean sometimes, and perhaps here, a receptacle onto which things are strewn or scattered. (In 12, 1, 57 āsya iva rajo dudhuve ví tán janān)

Here jana is in all likelihood signifying "human being" although the sense "being" in general of the earth may also be applicable.

In all the above instances, jana denotes "a man" the plural form denoting "men" or "people" or "human beings", but in some instances given below a section of the people is understood by the word. The meaning is specialised to mean enemies or hostile men, religious men, dead men etc. 7, 17 as well as

*in TA* (1) yé brhātsāmanam āngirasam ārpayan brāhmaṇam janāh /

(5, 19, 2 ab) refers to the oppressors of the Brāhmaṇa, but they are not in the collective sense as it is not warranted by the context. ("The people who delivered (?arpay) up the Brahman Brihat sārvaṇ descendant of Angiras".... (W) )

(2) In I, 32, 1 (ab)

idam janāso vidātha mahād brāhma vadiṣyati /

the /....

the janas are addressed - "he janāḥ idam jānītha ṛṣiḥ mahat  
(1) vyāpakam brahma vadiṣyati" etc. as explained by SĀYANA.

These janas might have been assembled to hear the braham, hence they formed the audience at a particular time and place and has thus a limited connotation.

(3) jana sometimes denote a dead person, as in

(2) Kravyādāṃ agnim isitō harāmi janān dr̥m̐hantam

vajrena mṛtyum (XII, 2, 9 ab)

("I quickly sweep away corpse eating Agni, Death, with his bolt depriving men of motion." - (G) )

(4) Kōsāṃ duhanti Kalāśam cāturbilam

idāṃ dhenūṃ mādhumatīm svastāye /

ūrjam mādantēm āditim jānesu-

agne mā himsīḥ paramē vyoman // (XVIII, 4, 30)

which belongs to the funeral verses:

("They milk a receptacle (Kōsa), a jar with four orifices, idā as milch cow, rich in honey in order to well being; reveling refreshment, Aditi among the people, injure thou not, O Agni, in the highest firmament" - (W) )

(In VS. 13, 49 cd; TS. 4, 2, 10, 2; MS. 2, 7, 17 as well as in TA. 6, 6, 1 the third quarter of the verse is read thus:

ghṛtam dhuānām aditīm janāya. )

(c) (1) ghṛtam dhuānām aditīm janāya.

Samanvāsu bravā vahai sūro yō gṛṇu gacchati

sakṣā sūsoḥ adhvayā // (V, 4, 9)

(d) (1) idam janā uṣe sṛutam nārśāmsam stavīṣyate

Saptim bahasvā ravatim ca Kaur̥vā ā r̥ṣāṃsu

dadṛṣhe // (V, 3, 1)

C. Jana in Khila

(i) There are eleven occurrences of jana in the Khila of R̥gveda.

(a) (1) yāste p̄rūmsi sam dadhāu rāthasyeva r̄bhūr dhiyā /

(2) tām gr̄cha tātra te jānam ājñātaste 'yām jānah //

(IV, 5, 10)

(AV. X, 1, 8 is almost similar where gr̄cha is gaccha)

(2) yāthā hantē p̄rvāsīnam tāyaivēs vāsukr̄jjānah /

(2) tāthā tvayā yujā vayām tasya nikr̄ma sthāsnu jāngamam //

(IV, 5, 31)

(3) Sām vo mānāmsi jānatām sāmākūtim mānāmsi /

(Aundh edition reads namāmsi, and for jānah has manah)

(4) ābhīva svah prā jihīte yāvah pakvāh pātho bīlam /

jānah sā bhadramedhate rāstrē rājñah parīksītah

(V, 10, 4)

(= AV. XX, 127, 10)

(5) nēmā indra gāvo risanno āsām gopatī risat /

māsām amitrayūr jāna indra mā stena īsata

(b) (1) Swāpnah svapnādhikarāṇe sārvaṃ nī svāpayā jānam

ā sūryam anyān svāpayav yusām jāgr̄yāmaham (II, 14, 1)

(= AV. IV, 5, 7)

(c) (1) nūnam tām nāvyaṃ mānyase prābho jānasya vr̄trahan /

Sāmanyēsu bravā vahai sūro yō goṣu gacchati

sakhā susēvo advayāh // (V, 4, 9)

(d) (1) idām janā upa śrutam nārāsāmsam stavisyate

Sastīm sahasrā navatīm ca Kanrāva ā rusāmeṣu

dadmahe // (V, 8, 1)



D. Jar(e) (1) Sānti hyaryā āśiṣa īndra āyur jānānām

(1) In IV. there asmān nakṣasva maghavann upāvase and its derivatives, but many of them are dhuksasva pipyūsīmīsam // (III, 6, 7) as from it.

(f) (1) yā dāmsāmsi jaritā duṣṭārā vām yā sāmsanti  
are quoted:

jaritārah sutēsu /

(1) yānīhā puṣyantu vidhā jāneṣu yairāśnutho

vidathe somapeyam // (I, 9, 2)

(2) yapadena ta ā te prānān samādade /

atho etāt samādade yadanyēsu jāneṣu ca // (III, 5, 14)

(2) In TS. I, 6, 1, 2

Of these instances the first one only may have the use of jana in the sense of a social group or the special group of men. All others have the sense of collection of men as in (a), (3), (b), (d) the sense of man in general in (c) (e), jana is often used to substantivise the adjective.

These instances show a peculiar use of the word panca jana which does not seem to have the sense of five tribes.

(b) (1) In KS. XXII, 15; MS. III, 16, 5; TS. IV, 7, 15, 1

agnir manvā prathamasya vracetase

yaṁ pañca-janyam bahavaḥ samindhate / ...

(... whom of the pancajanas many kindle.)

(2) In TS. IV, 4, 7, 2

Agne yathe param hrudāṁ tavehi sam

-rabhāvahai nāṁca janyagrapvedhy agne

("O Agni, thy highest name, the heart,

Come let us join together

Be Thou O Agni among those of the Five races."

(3)/...

- KEITH)

D. Jana in YV. and the subsequent texts.

(i) In YV. there are numerous occurrences of jana and its derivatives, but many of them are either repetitions from RV. or quotations from it.

(a) Of the instances in which pañca jana occurs, the following are quoted:

(1) MS. I, 4, 4; TS. I, 6, 1, 8; KS. V. 6

"devān janam agan vajñas tato mā vajñasyāsīrāgacchatu  
Pitrñ janam .... manusvān janam .... vanaspatīn  
janam .... gacchatu pañcajanam janam ...."

(2) In TS. I, 6, 1, 2

"...pañcānām tvā pañca-janānām grhṇāmi ...."

In KS. XXXII, 6, besides this, it is said:

"chandāmsi vai pañca pañcajanā vajñas  
chandāmsy upainam namati."

(c) The instances devān janam, devajana etc. which are found in some instances evidently do not signify the sense of social group of the word jana.

(b) (1) In KS. XXII, 15; MS. III, 16, 5; TS. IV, 7, 15, 1

agner manve prathamasya pracetaso  
yam pañca-janyam bahavaḥ samindhate / ...  
(... whom of the pañcajanas many kindle.)

(2) In TS. IV, 4, 7, 2

agne yathe param hrñnāma tāvehi sam-  
-rabhāvahai pañcajanyaesvapvedhy agne

("O Agni, thy highest name, the heart,

Come let us join together

Be Thou O Agni among those of the Five races."

which appears to be the instances found in connection with

- KEITH)

grāṇak (3)/... etc.

(3) In VS. (Mā) XVIII, 67, (Kā) XX, 4, 9: the people in general, ye 'agnayah pāñcajanyaśyām prthivyām adhi /

(r) Or the tesāmasi tvamuttamah pra no jīvātave suva //

(4) In VS. (Mā) XXVI, 9, (Kā) XXVIII, 10, 1, XXXIX, 5, 3

(1) agnīr ṛsiḥ pāvamānah pāñcajanyaḥ purohitah  
tām īmahe mahāgayām //

MS. I, 5, 1 exactly repeats it.

(5) In TS. V, 3, 11, 3

(g) pāñcajanyesvapyedhi agne ityāhaṣa vai  
all tribes or whole nations.

agnih pāñcajanyo yah pañca citikas tasmād

(h) The word agnih is also found in VS. (Mā) V, 24, (Kā) V, 6, 3. MAHIDHARA explains the word agnih as "the fire of the five layers in the fire of the five races." (Bethou, O Agni, among those of the

five races. The fire of the five layers in the fire of the five races.)

evam āha. (The word agnih is also found in VS. (Mā) V, 24, (Kā) V, 6, 3. MAHIDHARA explains the word agnih as "the fire of the five layers in the fire of the five races." (Bethou, O Agni, among those of the

(c) The instances devāñjana, daivya jana, devajana etc. which are found in some instances evidently do not signify the sense of social group of the word jana.

In all these instances jana may have denoted "a tribe" but we cannot be sure about it. It may have also meant "the people"

(d) janesu malimlavah etc. in VS. (Mā) XI, 79, (Kā) XII, 7, 14;

TS. IV, 1, 10, 3; KS. XVI, 7 may denote "among the different

peoples" explained by MAHIDHARA as "janesu grāma-vartisu

(11) vandikārāḥ ...."

from the countries, and in the new uses of the word there is no sense

(e) jana and janatā in the A<sub>c</sub>usative are often connected with

verbs eti, esyate, agacchat etc. on the one hand and abhiprāyan,

Kāmayeta on the other in KS. XXVI, 1; KapS XL, 4; KS XXI, 8;

TS. V, 4, 6, 1; MS. III, 8, 10; TS. II, 2, 5, 5; III, 4, 2, 2

and in MS. II, 1, 1; TS. II, 2, 1, 4, 5; II, 3, 4, 2 etc.

which appears to be the instances found in connection with

grāmakāmah - etc.

Here the word jana and janatā appears to denote the people in general, "the folk", who form the wealth of one.

(f) Of the others, notable are the instances of the genitive case forms, of which except the following:

(1) In MS. IV, 14, 3

.... indro athaikaṛājo abhavaḥ janānām

The others are repetitions from RV.

(g) visvajanasya chāvāsi (TS. I, 3, 1, 1) may have signified all tribes or whole mankind.

(h) The word janarāt is also found in VS. (Mā) V, 24; (Kā) V, 6, 3. MAHIDHARA explains the word <sup>as</sup> vajamānesu rājata which however might have meant the Sovereign of the people and the word jānārāja also occurs in a few instances as in VS. (Mā) IX, 40; X, 18; (Kā) XI, 6, 2; MS. II, 6, 6; TS. I, 8, 10, 2, etc.

In all these instances jana may have denoted "a tribe" but we cannot be sure about it. It may have also meant "the people" in general.

(ii) In the Brahmanas, the instances of jana are mostly repeated from the Samhitās, and in the new uses of the word there is no sense of the social group.

a few occasions he gives the meaning "häusern".) MACDONELL (Vedic Reader) suggests the meaning "settlement", "abode" on the one hand and "settler", "subject" on the other. Vispati is according to him "the master of the house." EDGERS (ib. 193) explains vis thus:

"Die nächste Unterabtheilung des Stammes ist der Gau;  
Sein einheimischer Name ist vis."



VIS 'Vedic Index' the word is explained as one of "somewhat doubtful

In 'SW', two categories of the meanings of Vis occurring in RV, have been made (1) Niederlassung, Wohnsitz, Haus and (2) Gemeinde, Stamm, Volk. or settle." In other passages where the visā stand in re-

GRASSMANN (WRV) makes five categories: "(1) Haus, Wohnung; (2) Haus, Familie; (3) Stamm, Geschlecht mit adjectivischen oder genetivischen Bestimmungen, oder; (4) ohne solche; (5) menschlicher Stamm, Mensch, auch in dem Sinne Untergebene besonders im plur." He further makes seven categories of the meanings of vispati: (1) Hausherr, Stammherr; in diesem Sinne bisweilen; (2) von Agni; (3) Gebieter der Menschen, Herrscher; (4) in diesen Sinne sehr häufig, von Agni; (5) namentlich mit dem Gen. visām; (6) und zwar meist von Agni; (7) du. Hausherr und Hausfrau.

MAX MÜLLER (SBE, XXXII) gives the meanings "clan", "tribe", "people" for vis and "King" for vispati but OLDENBERG (SBE, XLVI) thinks that "house" may be another meaning of vis besides "tribe", "clan" and he renders vispati as "lord of the clans" but vispatnī "housewife." GRIFFITH frequently translates vis by "people", "men", "folk", "hosts" or "tribes" and sometimes by "house" and very occasionally by "family." GELDNER mostly gives the meaning "Stamm" or "clan" (vispati he generally renders as "clanherr",) and sometimes some other meaning like "Niederlassung", "Ansiedelung" etc. (on only a few occasions he gives the meaning "Häusern".) MACDONELL (Vedic Reader) suggests the meaning "settlement", "abode" on the one hand and "settler", "subject" on the other. Vispati is according to him "the master of the house." ZIMMER (AL, 193) explains vis thus:

"Die nächste Unter abtheilung des Stammes ist der Gau;

Sein einheimischer Name ist vis."

families/...

In 'Vedic Index' the word is explained as one of "somewhat doubtful significance." "In many passages of the RV. the sense "settlement" or "dwelling" is adequate and probable, since the root is vis, "to enter or settle." In other passages where the visah stand in relation to a prince, the term must mean "Subject" ...." (S.V.)

Of the Indian interpreters SĀYANA generally gives the meaning prajā, the sense of which is not very clear (whether the subject of a king or a creature.) Sometimes he gives the meaning yajamāna / rtvij. V. MĀDHAVA generally gives the meaning manusya and SKANDASVAMIN very often explains it as putrapautrādi. In 'Nighaṇṭu' (II, 3) the word is classed among 25 words denoting "man."

#### A. vis in RV.

Vis, with its derivatives and compounds occurs 241 times in RV. The word in different cases singly or reduplicated occurs 198 times, the other words are vispati, vispatnī, veśa, visya, vesya and vaiśya (which occurs only once.) Among the 198 instances, the singular forms (omitting the reduplicated forms which semantically conceives the plurality of the significant) number only 29, which is significant. Of those which occur in large numbers Nom./Acc. plural forms are 67, Gen. Plural forms are 41 and Locative plural forms, 48.

(1) The Locative plural vikṣu has been taken mostly as "Haus", "Wohnung" by GRASSMANN and only in two instances, he suggests the meaning "Stamm, Geschlecht" (I, 153, 4 and VIII, 39, 7.)

(a) (1) utá vām vikṣú madyāsvāndho

gāva āpasca pīpayanta devīh (I, 153, 4, ab)

("So may the kine and heavenly waters pour you sweet drink in families/...

families that make you joyful." - GRIFFITH) But GELDNER translates "Mögen immerhin bei den rauschtrank liebenden clanen Kühe ... schwellen." SĀYANA explains "he mitrā varunau .... gāvah āpaśca ... madanīyāśn vikṣu prajāsu vajamānalakṣanāsu tāsām abhivrdhyartham āpyāyayantu."

(2) agnīr devēsu sāmvasuh sā vikṣu vajñīyesvā (VIII, 39, 7, ab)

GRIFFITH: "Agni inhabiteth with Gods and men who offer sacrifice."

GELDNER: "Agni ist der Hausgenosse unter den Göttern, er unter den Opfertätigen Clanen."

SĀYANA explains vajñīyesu vikṣu as vajñārḥāsu prajāsv api sāmvasuh

The adjectives vām madyāsu in (1) and vajñīyesu in (2) signify the vises to be devoted to the gods: vis-es may be the number of groups of people, but the nature of the group (whether family or clan or Stamm) is not clear. Vis-es may as well mean simply "men" specially in contrast with the words devīh (in former) and devēsu (in the latter.)

(b) On one more occasion, GRIFFITH translates vikṣu by "in families." Here vikṣu is qualified by mānuṣṭsu.

(1) eśa syā mānuṣīśvā syenó ná vikṣu sīdati / gacchanjāro na yositam // (IX, 38, 4)

GRIFFITH: "He like a falcon settles down amid the families of men / Speeding like lover to his love."

GELDNER: "Derselbige lässt sich in den menschlichen Ansiedelungen nieder wie ein Falke (im Nest), wie ein Buhle, der Zur jungen Frau geht."

SĀYANA /...

SĀYANA: "sa eṣa somah mānuṣīṣu vikṣu prajāsu yajamānarūpasvanu-  
they have: grahena ā sīdati śyena iva ...

GELDNER extends the comparison of the falcon's sitting which might be "in the nest" to Soma's sitting "in the human settlements." But it should not be plural on account of that.

"Among the men" however, might have been conceived. But the presence of the adjective mānuṣīṣu besides vikṣu is notable. The other such examples are:

(2) agnim devāso mānuṣīṣu vikṣu  
priyam dhuh kṣeṣyānto nā mitrām (II, 4, 3, ab)

GRIFFITH: "Among the tribes of men the Gods placed Agni as a dear friend when they would dwell among them."

GELDNER: "Den Agni setzten die Götter unter die menschlichen Clane ... " "and, become the messenger of all."

V. MĀDHAVA explains mānuṣīṣu vikṣu as mānuṣīṣu prajāsu.

SĀYANA explains it as manuṣyasambandhinīṣu prajāsu.

(3) ādhāyagnir mānuṣīṣu vikṣv  
-āpām garbho mitrā rtēna sādhan / (III, 5, 3, ab)

GRIFFITH: "mid men's homes hath Agni been established, fulfilling with the Law, friend, germ of waters."

GELDNER: "Agni ward unter die menschlichen Stämme gesetzt, das Opfer in..." "menschlichen Ansiedlungen genießend."

SĀYANA explains that Agni established among the manuṣī prajā-s remains like a friend of the yajamānas. ādhā ... abhyavaharantau

Hence the different yajamānas might have been signified by the plural number of mānuṣī viś. In the context forgiving a differ-

(4) ādhā mitrō nā śudhitah pāvako  
(3) /... āgnir dēdāya mānuṣīṣu vikṣu // (IV, 6, 7, cd)



This is also explained by the interpreters in the same way as they have explained above.

(5) dvīr yam pāṇca jījanantsamvāsānāḥ  
svāsāro agnīm mānuṣīṣu vikṣu / (IV, 6, 8, ab)

GRIFFITH: "He, Agni, whom the twice five sisters dwelling together in the homes of men engendered."

GELDNER: explains mānuṣīṣu vikṣu as "menschlichen Stämmen" and SĀYANA explains manoh sambandhinīṣu prajāsu. In the last instance V. MĀDHAVA emphasises the nature of prajāsu as vajñaparāsu.

(6) sā mānuṣīṣu dūlābho vikṣu prāvīramartyah /  
dūtō viśveṣām bhuvat // (IV, 9, 2)

GRIFFITH: "May he the Immortal, Helper, hard to be deceived among mankind, become the messenger of all."

Here GRIFFITH interprets mānuṣīṣu vikṣu as "among mankind" while all others interpret as usual.

(7) āhelata mānasā yātam arvāg  
āsnantā havyam mānuṣīṣu vikṣu // (VII, 67, 7, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Come unto us with spirits free from anger in homes of men enjoying our oblation."

GELDNER also translates āsnantā havyam mānuṣīṣu vikṣu by "... das Opfer in den menschlichen Ansiedlungen geniessend."

SĀYANA explains : "(he āsvinau) ... anugrahayuktena cetasā ... asmadabhimukham āyātam / ... haviḥ svrmādikam ... abhyavaharantau /  
Kutra ? manusyāsu prajāsu vartamānam.

There is apparently no reason in the context for giving a different meaning of the same phrase.

(8) /...

Thus (8) tā īm prātyesi pūnaranyārūpā context denotes "among mankind" is ási tvām vikṣu mānuṣīṣu hotā (X, 1, 4, cd)

GRIFFITH: "These in their altered form again thou meetest,  
(a) Vikṣu Thou art invoking priest in homes of mortals."

GELDNER translates the last portion by: "Du bist der  
Opferpriester unter den menschlichen Stämmen."

SĀYANA explains: "mānuṣīṣu manuṣyajātīṣu vikṣu prajāṣu / yadvā vikṣv agnihotrādikriyāsv abhinivīśantīṣu you who  
manuṣyajātīṣu / hotā devānām āhvataḥ homaṇiṣpādako  
GELDNER: vā asi bhavasi / unter den nachgeborenen clanen, wie

In all these instances mānuṣīṣu vikṣu appears to denote "among mankind" or "among human settlers."

(c) On one occasion vikṣu is qualified by manuṣyāṣu.

(1) nī yam dadhūr manuṣyāṣu vikṣu svar nā citram vāpuse vibhāvam // (I, 148, 1, cd)

GRIFFITH: "... he whom they have set mid human houses, gay-hued  
as light and shining forth for beauty."

GELDNER: "... den sie unter die menschlichen Stämme eingesetzt  
haben, prächtig wie die Sonne zue Schönheit erstrahlend."  
GRIFFITH: placed as priest choiceworthy.

SĀYANA explains: "yam agnim manuṣyāṣu vikṣu vāpuse svarūpāya  
yāgadisvarūpa-prakāśāya śarīradhāranāya vā  
jātharāgnirūpena sthāpitavantah" and explains manuṣyāṣu  
vikṣu thus: "matvā Karma Kurvatīṣu ṛtvigrūpāṣu prajāṣu  
pūrvam - yajñasarēra siddhaye dhārayanti yajamānāḥ /  
yadvā / pūrvam devā manuṣyāṣu manor-apatyobhūtāṣu  
vikṣu prajāṣu prāṇīṣu - "

Thus/...

Thus manuṣyāsu vikṣu in the present context denotes "among mankind" in general, and GELDNER's "stämme" and GRIFFITH's "houses" are not suitable.

(d) Vikṣu in one instance is qualified by "uparāsu" with manusvat:

juhvé manuṣvād uparāsu vikṣu  
yusmé śacā brhaddivesu sōmam (IV, 37, 3, cd)

GRIFFITH: "So Manuslike, mid younger folk I offer to you who are aloft in heaven, the Soma."

GELDNER: "So opfere ich unter den nachgeborenen clanen, wie Manu tat, euch in Gesellschaft der Himmlischen den Soma."

SĀYANA explains manusvat uparāsu vikṣu as "manuriva upa devayajanasamīpe ramanta ityuparāh tāsu prajāsu."

(e) In one instance, mānuseṣu is found with vikṣu but the former is not apparently the adjective of the latter:

usikāvakóvasur mānuseṣu  
varenyo hotā dhāyi vikṣu (I, 60, 4, ab)

GRIFFITH: "Good to mankind, the yearning Purifier hath among men been placed as Priest choiceworthy."

GELDNER: "Der lautere Fürbitter der Gott unter den Menschen ward als der auserwählte Hotr unter die Clane gesetzt."

SĀYANA interprets vikṣu as adjective of mānuseṣu, giving it an etymological meaning "vajñagrham pravīsteṣu" whereby mānuseṣu is vajamāṇeṣu. But it seems to be a forced explanation to avoid duplication of the words having the same meaning. But mānuseṣu may be construed separate from vikṣu as done by GRIFFITH and GELDNER.

(f) vikṣu qualified by martyāsu occurs in: āpasyam asya mahatō mahitvām as well as āmartyasya martyāsu vikṣu (X, 79, 1, ab)

GRIFFITH: "I have beheld the might of this Great Being, Immortal in the midst of tribes of mortals."

GELDNER: "Ich habe seine des Grossen Grösse, des Unsterblichen in den sterblichen Niederlassungen erschaut."

SĀYANA explains: asya agneh mamhanīyasya mahattvam paśyāmi / kīdrśasyāsyā / martyāsu vikṣu manuṣyarūpāsu prajāsu tāsām hrdaye amaranatva-bhāvasya vaiśvānararūpeṇa varta-mānasya / yadvā / rtvigyajamāna rūpāsu prajāsu...

With the adjective martyāsu, vikṣu seems to be not specifying particular tribes, nor "Niederlassungen" and SĀYANA's rendering is satisfactory.

(g) vikṣu qualified by āyusu in:

rātho nā vikṣvṛñjasānā āyusu according to vyānuśāgvāryā devā rñvati // (I, 58, 3, cd)

is explained by GELDNER as "unter den Āyuculanen"

GRIFFITH: "Hastening like a car to men, to those who live, the God without delay gives boons to be desired."

SĀYANA explains vikṣu as lankikajanesu and āyusu as yajamāna lakṣaṇesu manusyesu. He explains rñjasānah as stūyamānah.

He means to say that the god (Agni) is eulogised among the men represented by the Yajamānas, as the car is eulogised among the ordinary people. The eulogy of the car is not improbable among the Vedic people. In the Vedic hymns also there is "rathastuti."

But GRIFFITH's meaning is also suitable where he translates rñjasāna/...



rñjasāna by "hastening" which is apt in the case of ratha as well as of the gods coming and immediate bestowal of boons or riches. GRASSMANN also gives the meaning of rñjasāna as "vordringen" or "vorwärt schießen." In any case regarding vikṣu and āyusu. SĀYANA's and GRIFFITH's meanings are not less acceptable than GELDNER's "Āyu clanen" which if accepted should be taken ultimately to represent the people in general.

(h) Nāhuṣīṣu on two occasions is found as adjective of vikṣu.

(1) vṛṣanvantam bibhratī dhursū rātham

where SĀYANA mandrā ciketa nāhuṣīṣu vikṣu (I, 100, 16, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Drew at the pole the chariot yoked with stallions, joyous among the hosts of men was noted."

GELDNER: " - die im Joch den mit Stieren bespannten wagen trägt, die entzückende hat unter den nahuṣischen Stämmen Aufsehen gemacht."

SĀYANA explains nāhuṣīṣu also as derived from nahusa a synonym according to him of "man" - he says "nahusā manusyāh / tat sambandhinīṣu vikṣu senālakṣaṇāsu prajāsu."

(2) utā tyad āśvāsyam yādindra nāhuṣīṣvā /

āgre vikṣu pradīdayat // (VIII, 6, 24)

GRIFFITH: "And Indra, grant us all that wealth of fleet steeds which shone bright of old among the tribes of Nahushas."

GELDNER: "Und jenen Besitz rasches Rosse, der beiden, nahuṣischen Stämmen voraus leuchtet, O Indra."

SĀYANA explains in this instance also "nahusā iti manusyanāma / tatsambandhinīṣu /". He gives an alternate meaning - "nāhuso nāma kascid rājā / tadīyāsu vikṣu prajāsu / ..."

In/...

In both the instances GELDNER explains vis as "Stamm" and Nāhusa the name of it in the present two instances as Āyu in the last. But SĀYANA and GRIFFITH explain both Āyu and Nāhusa denoting "man." GRASSMANN explains Āyu as either the name of a person or one having movement and activity and Nāhusa as neighbour or dweller which is not quite acceptable.

nāhusīṣu is found as an adjective of kr̥ṣṭīṣu in yādindra  
nāhusīsvā' ojo nṛmnam ca kr̥ṣṭīṣu / yadvā pāṇca kṣitīnām dyumnām  
ābhara satrāvīśvāni pānmsyā // (VI, 46, 7)

where SĀYANA explains nāhusīṣu kr̥ṣṭīṣu as "manusya sambandīnīṣu prajāṣu" and GRIFFITH translates it by "in tribes of Nahushas."

(i) Āyu is also found in the genitive case before vikṣu in:

(1) imam vidhānto apām sadhasthe

dvitādadhur bhṛgavo vikṣvāyoh (II, 4, 2, ab)

GRIFFITH: "Bhrigus who served him in the home of waters set him of old in houses of the living."

GELDNER: "In der Wohnung der Gewässer ihm dienend setzten die Bhṛgus ihn abermals unter die Clane des Āyu."

SĀYANA explains vikṣu as svabhūtasu prajāsvrtvikṣu teṣām madhye  
ca, and V. MĀDHAVA explains it as manusyesu.

SĀYANA explains āyoh as manusyasya yajamānasya and V. MĀDHAVA as urvasīputrasya with dvitādadhur as dvayoh sthānāt (SĀYANA) and prathamadvaidham nihitavantah gārhapatyam āhavanīyam ca.

(j) manuṣo vikṣu similarly occurs in one instance:

yathā yajñam manuṣo vikṣvāsu

dadhidhvē ranvāḥ sudīneṣvāhnām (IV, 37, 1, cd)

where manuṣah is explained by V. MĀDHAVA as manoh prajāpatch and/...

and by SĀYANA as manoh sambadhiniṣu qualifying vikṣu explained by V. MĀDHAVA as svabhūtāsvāsu prajāsu, by SĀYANA as yajamāneṣu madhye. But GRIFFITH translates:

"As ye, gay gods, accept in splendid weather, the

GELDNER: "sacrifice among these folk of Manus."

GELDNER: "wie ihr das Opfer des Manu in diesen clanen, ihr

SĀYANA exp. Freude bringenden an glücklichen Tagen empfangen

habt." asmān vāsato devah havyah bhavatu / athavā /

GRIFFITH takes vikṣu connected with manuṣah while GELDNER connects yajnam with manuṣah but the connection of the latter with "in diesen Clanen" is not convincing. "among all men" and

(k) vikṣu qualified by visvāsu occurs in several instances:

(1) adhā visvāsu havyo'gnir

vikṣu prā śasyate (V, 17, 4, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Then, meet to be invoked among all tribes is Agni  
contains glorified."

GELDNER: "Darum wird der zu berufende Agni bei allen Clanen  
gefeiert."

But visvāsu vikṣu is explained by V. MĀDHAVA and SĀYANA as those  
visvāsu prajāsu.

(2) aviṣṭo asmān visvāsu vikṣu - den Welt niedergesetzt

ādyum kr̥ṇota śamsam ninitsoh // (VII, 34, 12)

GRIFFITH: "May he assist us among all the tribes and make the  
envier's praise devoid of light."

GELDNER: "Stchet uns in allen Niederlassungen bei; machet die  
(üble) Rede des Tadelsüchtigen unschädlich!"

SĀYANA explains "he devāh, asmān sarvāsu vikṣu prajāsu rakṣata /  
samsam ninditumicchatah satroh adeṣṭim kuruta ca //

(3) viśvāsu viksvāvitēva hāvyobhuvad vastur rsūnām // (VIII, 71, 15, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Let him as Guardian be invoked in all the tribes,  
the lighter-up of glowing brands."

GELDNER: "In allen Niederlassungen soll er wie ein Gönner  
anzurufen sein, der Erheller der Morgenstrahlen."

SĀYANA explains "so 'gnih - sarvāsu prajāsu raksitā rājeva -

rsīnām asmākam vāsako devah havyah bhavatu / athavā /

GRIFFITH: "sarvāsu yajamānarūpāsu prajāsu madhya rsīnām by

sūktadrastṛnām asmākameva havyah bhavatu."

Thus SĀYANA explains sarvāsu viksu as "among all men" and

GRIFFITH translates it by "in all the tribes" and GELDNER by

"in allen Niederlassungen" (the first example of course he translates by "bei allen Clänen.")

(1) In connection with the worship of the fathers, one instance contains viksu qualified by suvrjanāsu.

ye pārthive rajasyā nīsatā (VI, 21, 4, ab)

GRIFFITH: "Ye vā vūnām suvrjanāsu viksu // (X, 15, 2, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Those who have rested in the earthly region and those  
who dwell among the mighty races."

GELDNER: ".... die sich in der irdischen Welt niedergesetzt  
haben, oder die jetzt bei verbündeten Clänen sind."

HILLEBRANDT: ".... die im Bereich der Erde sich niederliessen  
oder jetzt in glücklichen Gauen sind."

SĀYANA explains "ye apyanye brthivērsambandhini rajogunakārye'

GELDNER: "smin ... ye vā kecidanye bandhuvargarūpāḥ pitarah

viksu bandhu rūpāsu prajāsu ā nīsatāḥ

SĀYANA: "śraddhādisvikārāyāgatypavistāḥ / suvrjanāsu /



SĀYANA: suṽṛjanāsu / vr̥janam dhanam / dhanasamrddhaya  
śrāddhādikarma- parāsv ityarthah / ...."

Here vikṣu stands for among the people - the relatives who are ready to do the śrāddha and other ceremonies to the fathers.

(m) In some instances vikṣu is qualified by some pronominal adjectives:

(1) tvām vikṣú pradivah sīda āsú  
krátvā rathīrabhavo vá ryānām (VI, 5, 3, ab)

GRIFFITH: "Thou from of old has dwelt among these people by mental power the charioteer of blessings."

GELDNER: "Du sassest seit alters unter diesen Clänen mit Umsicht ...."

SĀYANA: "he agne ... prajāsu purātanakālīnasu vaiśvānarātmanā  
vartase tathātmīyena karmanā ....."

(V. MĀDHAVA: - "tvam manusyeṣu purāṇah sīdasi ....."

(2) yastā cakāra sā kuha svid indrah  
kāmā jānam carati kāsū vikṣú (VI, 21, 4, ab)

GRIFFITH: "And he who did these things, where is that Indra? among what tribes? what people doth he visit?"

GELDNER: "Wo ist denn der Indra, der das getan hat; zu welchen Volke geht er, bei welchen Stämmen (ist er)?"

(3) kva svid adyā katamāsv asvīnā  
vikṣú dasrā mādayete śubhaspatī (X, 40, 14, ab)

GRIFFITH: "O Asvins, wonderworkers, Lords of lustre, where and with what folk do ye delight yourselves today?"

GELDNER: "Wo, in welchen Häusern werden denn Leute die Meister Asvin, die Gatten der Schönheit, ergötzt?"

SĀYANA/...

SĀYANA: "he asvinau ... kvāsvit kva sthitau jana-pade katamāsu  
kāsu vikṣu Grajāsu ātmānam tarpayataḥ / (I, 66, 2, ab)

These instances show specification of the vis es which seem to denote groups of people like "tribes," but they may not be the "tribes" in the true sense of the term.

(n) In the context of religious rites performed, there are some instances of vikṣu.

(1) ṛsir nā stūbhvā vikṣu prasastō  
vājī nā prītō vāyo dadhāti (I, 66, 2, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Like a seer lauding famed among the folk; like a  
 steed friendly he vouchsafes us power."

GELDNER renders vikṣu prasastah as "unter allem Volk gefeiert."  
 SĀYANA explains: "... mantradrastā ṛsir iva devānām stotā vikṣu

yajamānalakṣaṇeṣu manusyeṣu prakhyātāḥ asva iva  
harsayuktah / yathāśvāḥ harsayukto yuddhābhimukham  
gacce hati tadvad ayamapi devānām havirvahane  
harsayukto bhavatītyarthah / ..."

Vikṣu prasastah suggests the vises to be either men or groups of men who have Agni among them and whom they praise.

(2) citrō yād ābhrāṭchvetō nā vikṣu  
rātho nā rukmī tveṣaḥ samātsu // (I, 66, 3, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Bright when he shines forth, whitish mid the folk,  
 like a car, gold decked, thundering to the fight."

GELDNER: "Wenn er prächtig erglänzte wie ein Schimmel unter  
 allem Volke, wie ein gold verzierter Wagen in den  
 Kämpfen (wut) ent brannt."

Here also Agni is referred to as shining bright among the people assembled together. SĀYANA explains vikṣu as prajāsu.

(3) ádha smā na údavatā sajośaso *Stamm sitzen gezogen*

ratham devāso abhí vikṣú vājayum (II, 31, 2, ab)

GRIFFITH: "Yea, now ye Gods of one accord speed on our car what  
SĀYANA and time among the folk it seeks an act of might;"

GELDNER: "Dann bringet, ihr ein mütigen Götter, unseren nach  
(5) dem Sieger preis strebenden Wagen über (andere) zu  
Ehren bei den Clanen."

SĀYANA explains vikṣu here as prajāsu janapadesu and údavatā  
as udagamayata (avatiratrakatvarthah) but V. MĀDHAVA explains  
the latter as udraksata. According to GELDNER údavatā sig-  
nifies "bring" having its object ratham, but instead of that  
the meaning of V. MĀDHAVA seems to be better, as in the previous  
verse also to the gods, the protection of the car is prayed for.  
GRIFFITH considers here a reference is made to the chariot race,  
and notes WINDISCH's view to understand "car" as a figurative  
expression for "hymn of praise," which appears to be supported  
by GELDNER also. The word ratham seems to be qualified by  
vājayum, which may mean "seeking anna" (SĀYANA and V. MĀDHAVA,) or  
"an act of might" (GRIFFITH,) or "honour" (GELDNER,) "among  
the people or in the settlements of the people" (SĀYANA,) or  
"the folk" (GRIFFITH) or "bei den Clanen" (GELDNER.) It is  
difficult to find out what vikṣu actually signified in this  
verse. TH: "For in men's houses, thou must be glorified as a well

(4) evā no agne vikṣvā dasasya

GELDNER: "De tvayā vayam sahasāvannāskrāh / (VII, 43, 5, ab)

GRIFFITH: "So, Agni, send us wealth among the people: may we

SĀYANA and be closely knit to thee, O Victor."

GELDNER/... In these two instances GRIFFITH understands vikṣu

GELDNER: "Also, Agni, sei uns in den Stamm sitzen gewogen  
 meanings. Mit dir, Mächtiger, sind wir befreundet, wir

(3) Festgenossen." *priyo vikavagnir*

SĀYANA and V. MĀDHAVA explain viksu as prajāsu, ā dasasya as  
dhanamabhi prayaccha and ābhimukhyena dehi nah as asmabhyam.

(5) āmūro hotā nyasādi viksu *in worship.*

GELDNER: "agnir mandró vidāthesu prācetāh / (IV, 6, 2, ab)

GRIFFITH: "He was set down mid men as Priest unerring, Agni,  
 wise, welcome in our holy synods."

GELDNER: "Als der unbeirrte Opferpriester ward er bei den

(9) Stämmen eingesetzt, Agni der beliebte in Weisheit  
erfahrene." *astā viksvā yasasāmah // (VIII, 23, 10)*

SĀYANA explains rtvigrūpāsu prajāsu madhye. *the trust Agiras*

(6) ādā hī tvā jagrbhrire mātāso viksvīdyam (IV, 7, 2, cd)

V. MĀDHAVA explains mātāso jagrbhrire as manusyāh yajñārtham  
parigrhñanti and viksu īdyam as manusyeṣu stutyam. SĀYANA  
 explains viksu as vidbhih prajābhih.

GRIFFITH: "For mortal men have held thee fast, adorable in all  
 (10) their homes." *in āvayo 'jananta*

GELDNER: "Denn darum haben dich die Sterblichen festgehalten

GRIFFITH: als den in den Clanen zu berufenden (Priester.) *published*

(7) ādā hī viksu īdyo'si priyo no ātithih (VI, 2, 7, ab)

GRIFFITH: "For in men's houses, thou must be glorified as a well  
 loved guest."

GELDNER: "Denn nun bist du unser lieber Gast, unter den Clanen  
 anzurufen."

SĀYANA and V. MĀDHAVA respectively explain viksu as prajāsu and  
manusyeṣu. In these two instances GRIFFITH understands vis  
 as/...



as 'home' while others find no difference from their usual meanings.

(8) saparyēnyah sā priyó viksvāgnir  
hótā mandró ní sasāda yājñyān (VI, 1, 6, ab)

GRIFFITH: "Dear priest among mankind, adorable Agni hath seated him, joy giver, skilled in worship."

GELDNER: "In Ehren soll man den bei den Clänen beliebten Agni halten ...."

SĀYANA explains pujyah agniḥ kāmānām prerakah prajāsu agnir  
hotā nisīdati mādayitā etc.

(9) acchā no āngirastamam yajñāso yantu samyātah  
hótā yó āsti viksvā yasastamah // (VIII, 23, 10)

GRIFFITH: "May all our sacrifices go to him the truest Āngiras who is among mankind the most illustrious Priest."

GELDNER: (translates the second line by) "der der angeschenste  
 (2) Opferpriester bei den Stämmen ist."

SĀYANA explains the latter portion as "manuṣyesu homanispādakah  
san ā sarvataḥ yasasvitamah bhavati ...."

(10) bāhūbhyām agniṁ āyāvo 'jananta

GELDNER: "vikṣu hōtāram nysādayanta // (X, 7, 5, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Men with their Arms have generated Agni and stablished as Invoker mid the people."

GELDNER: "den Agni erzeugten die Āyu's mit den Armen, sie setzten ihn als Hotṛ bei den Clänen ein."

SĀYANA explains vikṣu as "manuṣyesu (i.e.) tadākāreṣu  
devisvityarthah / hotāram."

GRIFFITH and GELDNER consider vikṣu as "among the human beings" while/...

while SĀYANA considers it implying "among the divine beings who have similar appearances as the human ones." // (II, 21, 3, ad)

(o) In the following instances GRIFFITH and GELDNER translate vikṣu by "in (their) homes."

(1) tvāṁ citraśravastama

hāvante vikṣú jantāvah / (I, 45, 6, ab)

GRIFFITH: "O Agni, loved by many, thou of fame, most wondrous  
in their homes men call on thee ...."

GELDNER: "Dich du Ruhmglänzendster, rufen die Angehörigen in  
den Niederlassungen an ...."

SĀYANA explains vikṣu jantavah as prajāśūtāpannāh vajamānāh.

V. MĀDHAVA also explains manuṣyesu jātāh. GELDNER's translation seems to be the most satisfactory. But vikṣu could also denote "in different social groups," so that the meaning would be "people in different social groups call thee."

(2) ātrānyasmai śadbhiḥ sambharanty -

uttānāhastā nāmasādhi vikṣú / (X, 79, 2, cd)

GRIFFITH: "With hands upraised, with reverence in the houses,  
for him they quickly bring his food together."

GELDNER: "... mit ausgestreckten Händen (nahen sie ihm) unter  
Verbeugung in den Niederlassungen."

SĀYANA explains adhi vikṣu as usual by prajāsu and further elucidates it as ṛtvikṣu madhye. But GRIFFITH and GELDNER consider vikṣu differently.

(p) Viś in the hymn to Agni generally denotes "sacrificers" or "Agni-worshippers" but in the hymn to Indra mostly the people seeking military power from Indra.

(1) /....

GRIFTH (1) vr̥tamcayāḥ śāhurir vikṣu āritā *thigva strong, and*  
īndrasya vocam prā krtāni vīryā // (II, 21, 3, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Host-gatherer, triumphant, honoured mid the folk."

Indra's heroic deeds will I tell forth to all."

GELDNER: "... als Heer sammler, als Bezwingen unter den Stämmen  
 aner Kannt - des Indra voll brachte Heldentatenten  
 will ich Verkünden."

Though SĀYANA gives the usual meaning prajāsu, V. MĀDHAVA if it  
 explains vikṣu as śatrusu in connection with ārita which he among  
 explains as tadāyudhaiḥ sanjātārah which SĀYANA explains as  
pālakatvena prāpito bhavati. In any case here the people are  
 meant either on the invoker's own side or on the enemy side.)

GRIFTH (2) śatakrato mādayasva sutēsu *as Man-babalar; send thou*  
prāsmā'ava pr̥tanāsu prā vikṣu (VI, 41, 5, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Rejoicee thee, Śatakratu! in the juices: guard us in  
 wars, guard us among our people."

GELDNER: "Du ratreicher berausche dich an den Säften, hilf uns  
 in den Kämpfen und zu Hause weiter."

SĀYANA explains pr̥tanāsu saṅgrāmeṣu - prakarsena rakṣa / na  
kevalam pr̥tanāsu kintu vikṣu sarvāsu prajāsu asmān

(2) prarakṣa.

If pr̥tanāsu is saṅgrāmeṣu, vikṣu seems to denote among the  
 friendly people as clearly found in GRIFFITH's translation.  
 SĀYANA seems to suggest that the protection is sought not only  
 in battles from the enemies but everywhere among all men.

(3) aham guṇḍubhyo atithigvām īskaram *that ist, die in den*  
īsam nā vr̥tratūram vikṣu dhārayam / (X, 48, 8, ab)

GRIFFITH /...

GRIFFITH: "Against the Gungus, I made Atithigva strong, and  
Varuna be kept him amid the folk like Vrtra-conquering strength."

GELDNER: translates the latter half thus: "wie eine gute speise  
und befestigte den Feindetöter bei seinen Clangenossen .."

SĀYANA explains this portion thus: śatrūnām himsakam vikṣu  
prajāsu madhye annamiva tāsāmannam yathā bhogāya  
GELDNER: tadvad annasthānīyam dhāritavānasmi.

Isam as vrtraturam is more likely to be "strength." But if it  
is "food" according to GELDNER and SĀYANA vikṣu may signify among  
the subjects of the King.

(q) (1) nṛcākṣā rakṣaḥ pari pāśya vikṣu tāsya trīṇi prāti śrñīhy agrā / (X, 87, 10, ab)

GRIFFITH: "Look on the fiend mid men, as Man-beholder: rend thou  
his three extremities in pieces."

GELDNER: "Mit dem Hertscherange erspähe den bösen Geist in den  
Niederlassungen, brich dessen drei Spitzen ab!"

HILLEBRANDT: "Männerkundend beobachte das Raksas unter der  
Leuten, Zerspalte seine drei Spitzen; ..."

SĀYANA explains vikṣu as manusyeṣu himsakatvena vartamānam  
rāksasam pari pāśya sarvato vilokaya ....

(2) manusvād vrktābarhiṣe rārāmā  
mandū hitāprayasā vikṣu yājyū // (X, 61, 15, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Blithe, bounteous, manlike, to the Sacrificer honoured  
among our men with offered viands."

GELDNER: "der gleich Manu das Barhis ungelegt hat, die Erfreu-  
lichen, denen ein Opfermahe bereitet ist, die in den  
Niederlassungen Opfer erwarten."

SĀYANA /....



SĀYANA explains vikṣu as rtvikṣu asmadiyeṣu let Mitra and Varuna be worshipped (yastavyaṁ bhavataṁ.) // (VII, 61, 3, cd)

(3) vitisthadvam maruto vikṣuicchata your warders who  
grbhāyāta raksāsah sāmpinastana (VII, 104, 18, ab)

GRIFFITH: "Spread out, ye Maruts, search among the people:  
seize ye and grind the Rākshasas to pieces."

GELDNER: "Verleitet euch, ihr Marut, in den Ansiedelungen  
suchet, nehmet fest zerquetchet die Dunkel männer."

HILLEBRANDT translates vikṣuicchata by "suchet in den Wohnsitzen."

In all these instances GRIFFITH translates vikṣu by "among men"  
while according to GELDNER and HILLEBRANDT vis denotes  
"settlement."

(r) In three instances vikṣu occurs along with oṣadhīṣu.

(1) sām yaddhananta manyūbhir jānāśah  
śūrā yahvīsvosadhīṣu vikṣu / (VII, 56, 22, ab)

GRIFFITH: "What time the men in fury rush together for running  
streams for pastures, and for houses."

GELDNER: "Wenn die Völker ingrimmig aufeinander Schlagen, die  
Tapferen um Flüsse, Pflanzen, Ansiedlungen."

The next line:

adha smā no maruto rudriyāśas

trātāro bhūta prtanāsv aryah //

shows that the prayer is for protection in battles. V. MĀDHAVA

explains vikṣu as nivesayitrīṣu and yahvīṣu as mahatīṣu. He

comments "oṣadhīnām hi pakṣanām lābhārtham yudhyante." SĀYANA

also explains yahvīṣu as mahatīṣu but vikṣu as prajāṣu ca

jetavyāṣu.

(2) /...

(2) spāso dadhāthe śadhīsu viksu -

rdhagyatō ānimīṣam rāksamānā // (VII, 61, 3, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Have in the fields and houses set your warders who visit every spot and watch unceasing."

GELDNER: "Eure Späher habet ihr in dem Pflanzen und Ansiedelungen aufgestellt und ....."

According to V. MĀDHAVA osadhīsu manusyeṣu ca prthak prthak tejāmsi dadhāthe.

SĀYANA explains osadhīsu and viksu as prajāsu nimittabhūtāsu rūpam dhārayethe.

(3) yāni sthānānyasvinā dadhāthe

divo yāvīṣvōśadhīsu viksu / (VII, 70, 3, ab)

GRIFFITH: "Whatever dwellings ye possess, O Āsvins, in fields of men or in the streams of heaven."

GELDNER: "Welche Standorte ihr Āsvin eingenommen habt in den jungsten Töchtern des Himmels, den Pflanzen, den Ansiedelungen."

SĀYANA explains "he asvinā yuvām dyulokādāgatya yāni sthānāni kuruthah / Kutreti ucyate / yāvīṣu mahatīsu osadhīsu viksu vajamānesu ca / ....

V. MĀDHAVA's explanation is more or less similar.

Although nothing can be said definitely of the nature of vis from these examples, we can say that osadhi (the herbs or useful plants) are placed parallelly with vis which may signify "man" in general. "Who must be praised in holy rites, the Priest, most

Thus, from the detailed discussion of all the instances of

<sup>1</sup> With viksu the Locative plural form, it transpires that not in any single/... it can as well signify "among the settlers", "among the people dwelling together" etc. Instead of "in the settlements." (Examples (m - 1), (n - 5,8), (h - 1) etc.)

single instance the meaning "settlement" is quite evident<sup>1</sup> although the Locative case itself gives a suggestion of locality. The Indian annotators in all the instances have given the meaning prajā / manusya. In some examples, "man" in general seems to be the meaning of the word, but we have to admit that the sense of "group of men" is plausible in some instances.

(ii) The only three instances of Locative Singular may be discussed in this connection to see if in singular the sense of a man or of a tribe is applicable.

- (a) (1) yadvā u vispātiḥ śitāḥ supṛito manuṣo viśi  
visved agniḥ prāti rāksāṃsi sedhati // (VIII, 23, 13)

GRIFFITH: "Soon as the eager Lord of men is friendly unto Manu's race. Agni averteth from us all the demon host."

GELDNER translates: "Wenn nämlich der Clanherr Agni in den Clane des Manu scharf gemacht wird und recht befriedigt ist, dann wehrt er alle Dunkelgeister ab."

SĀYANA however gives an etymological meaning of viś - whereby we get the meaning of viś as "house" which the European scholars do not agree with. But in the next instance

- (b) (1) prā visvasāmann atrivādarca pāvaka śociṣe  
yó adhvarésvīdyo hotā mandrātamo viśi (V, 22, 1)

the latter portion is translated by GRIFFITH thus:

"Who must be praised in holy rites, the Priest, most welcome in the house."

<sup>1</sup> With verb stha-(ni) sad- etc. the sense of "settlement" may be arrived at, but it can as well signify "among the settlers", "among the people dwelling together" etc. instead of "in the settlements." (Examples (m - 1), (n - 5, 8), (b - 1) etc.)

and by GELDNER thus: "... der als der Wohlredenste Opferpriester  
in Clan bei dem Opfern zu berufen ist."

while SĀYANA explains visi as jane and V. MĀDHAVA explains it  
as manusyesu.

(2) Almost the same expression is in

dvitā yó bhūd amṛto mārtyesvā hotā mandratamo visi

(VIII, 71, 11, cd)

hotā mandratamo visi whereof is translated also by GELDNER into  
"in der Niederlassung der wohlredendste Opferpriester ward" and  
by GRIFFITH into "Old Priest ... the most delightful in the  
house," while SĀYANA explains "visi vikṣu vajamāna vāpāsu  
prajāsu hotā homanispādakah mandratamah mādayitṛtamasca bhavati" /  
In the first instance it may be "the race of Manu" or "the  
people having Manu as their forefather" that is "the human race,"  
which may have been denoted by manuso vis, (GELDNER's "clan"  
is not acceptable as the term presupposes certain characteristics  
which were not embodied in vis) and SĀYANA's etymological mean-  
ing is not satisfactory. But there is no justification that  
this meaning, viz. "house," is applicable in the other two  
instances, and GELDNER already gives the meaning "clan" in the  
second instance, in the third instance also there should not be  
a separate meaning of the word and hotā mandratamo visi can be  
interpreted as the Hotṛ, the most pleasant one among the people.

(iii) That the word vis stands for a "group of people" is evident  
from certain examples. In the following examples by vis a group  
of people is specified.

(a) (1) tatte jānmoṭāikam vasisthāgāstyo yātvā

visā ājabhāra (VII, 33, 10, cd)



GRIFFITH: "Thy one and only birth was then, Vasistha when from thy stock Agastya brought thee hither."

GELDNER: "... das was derne eine Geburt und eine, O Vasistha, als dich Agastya dem Clane brachte." (He notes: "Der Clan der Trtsu's ist gemeint.")

SĀYANA explains visah with an etymological reference: visah nivesanān mitrāvarunah āvām janayisyāva ityetasmāt pūrvāvasthānāt-tvām yadā agastyah ājahāra / (This is said by Indra or by the sons of vasistha according to SĀYANA.)

V. MĀDHAVA explains visah as manuṣyān prati meaning that while Agastya brought you to the mankind.

visa (+ ājabhāra) is explained by GRIFFITH and SĀYANA as in Ablative case (visah.) But GELDNER with OLDENBERG considers it visē (Dative) and also HILLEBRANDT who translates: "... als dich Agastya für (deinen) Clan herbei brachte, war das deine eine Geburt, Vasistha." But V. MĀDHAVA probably understands it to be Accusative plural. Here if SĀYANA's meaning is ignored, V. MĀDHAVA's suggested meaning of vis as "man" is set against the narrowed meaning "clan" etc. as suggested by the European scholars and we cannot be definite about the latter meaning.

(b) (1) sumnāyānnid viśo asmākam ā cara (I, 114, 3, c) is explained by SĀYANA as "tvam ca asmākam visah prajāḥ abhilakṣya ā cara āgaccha / tāsām prajānām sukhām icchanneva sukhaprada eva bhavetyarthah."

V. MĀDHAVA explains visah as putra-pautrādīn and SKANDA SVĀMIN explains rtviḥ vā prati.

GRIFFITH translates: "Come to our families bringing them bliss .."  
 According to WILSON: "Come to posterity purposing to promote their happiness." GELDNER however translates "Wohl wollend Komme zu unseren Niederlassungen." HILLEBRANDT translates: "... Komme in unsere Gane."

(2) ūpa tvā bahnī gamato viśam no  
rakṣohanā sambhrtā vīlupānī (VII, 73, 4, ab)

GRIFFITH: "And these two Priests come nigh unto our people,  
 united, demonslayers mighty handed."

GELDNER: "Diese beiden Zugrosse mögen zu unserem Clane Kommen,  
 die Unholdtöter, in voller Ausrüstung, die Stark-  
 hufigen."

V. MĀDHAVA explains viśam as prajām. SĀYANA further clarifies  
 it as prajām rtvijam.

In both these examples no viś and asmākam viś probably denotes  
 "our men" in the general way.

(c) (1) prā vo yahvam purūnām viśām devayatinām  
agnīm sūktēbhir vācobhir ūnahe yām sīm idanyā

(d) (1) ā vīlupānī (I, 36, 1)

GRIFFITH: "With words sent forth in holy hymns, Agni we suppli-  
 cate, the Lord of many families who duly serve the gods, yea,  
 him whom others also praise."

GELDNER translates yahvam purūnām viśām devayantinām by "den  
 Jüngsten unter vielen, (den Herrn) der gottergebenen Stämme,"  
 thus he understands viśām as qualified by devayantinām.

SĀYANA explains "... devān kāmāyamanānām bahūnām viśām  
prajā rūpānām - yusmākam anugrahāye mahāntam agnim ..."

According/...

According to SĀYANA these vises are the rtvigyajamānas who are addressed. V. MĀDHAVA keeps visām unexplained. SKANDA explains it as manusya-jātīnām. Here the adjective purūnām suggests the many groups of people longing for the gods.

(2) by visah mrdhravācah in I, 174, 2, ab:

dāno visa indra mrdhravācah saptā yat puraḥ śarma  
śāradīrdart /

evidently some people are understood. But the question is whether vis denotes "a man" here or "a tribe." The Indian commentators generally take the former meaning and the European scholars, the latter (V. MĀDHAVA manusyān, YĀSKA "dānamanaso no manusyān indra mrdhravācah kurn", GRIFFITH "thou humbledst tribes that spake with insult," GELDNER "Du, Indra, bezwangst die miss redenden Stämme." SĀYANA however explains "he indra, vrtra sambandhyasurānām purabhedanasamaye mrdhravācah marsanavacanāḥ visah tadīyāḥ prajāḥ śarma sukham yathābhavati tathā danah adamayah.") As visah mrdhravācah are plural we cannot be sure if vis is "a man" or "a tribe."

(d) (1) sā vit suvirā marūdbhirastu

sanātsahantī pūsyantī nr̥ṇām (VII, 56, 5)

GRIFFITH: "Ever victorious, through the Maruts, be this band of Heroes, nursing manly strength ...."

GELDNER: "Dieser clan muss durch die Marut helden haft sein, von jeher siegend, ...."

SĀYANA explains "sā prajā marudbhirhetubhiḥ śobhanaputrayuktāḥ

marutah paricarati ...."

Here vis is in the singular number specified by the pronominal adjective sā.

(2) visām āsām abhayānām adhikṣitam

gīrbhīru svāyaśasam grṇīmasi (S, 92, 14, ab)

GRIFFITH: "With hymns of praise, we sing him who is throned as Lord over these fearless tribes, the Self-resplendent One."

GELDNER: "Den Insassen dieser furehtlosen Clane ..... loben wir mit Lobreden."

SĀYANA explains visām āsām abhayānām as samsārabhaya-rahitānām āsām visām manuṣyānām ....."

Visām is here specified by āsām.

(iv) Following are the instances where vis is used for the Aryan and the non Aryan peoples who were called Dāsas or black people.

(a) Dāsīr visah the non Aryan peoples known as the Dāsa-s.

(1) viśvasmād sīmadhamā' indra dāsyūn

viśo dāsīr akr̥ṇor aprasastāh / (IV, 28, 4, ab)

GRIFFITH: "Lower than all besides hast thou, O Indra, cast down the Dasyus, abject tribes of Dāsas."

WILSON translates according to SĀYANA's interpretation: "Indra

thou hast made these Dasyus devoid of all (good qualities); thou hast made the servile races abject."

SĀYANA explains dāsīr visah as karmahīnāh mānuṣīh prajāh which in the view of WILSON "is not incompatible with the literal purport ~~slave~~ or servile."

V. MĀDHAVA explains it also as upakṣapayitrīśca visah.

(2) ābhir viśvā ābhiyūjo viśucīr

āryāya viśó'va tarīr dāsīh (VII, 25, 2, cd)

GRIFFITH/....



GRIFFITH: "With these chase all our foes to every quarter:

Subdue the tribes of Dāsas to the Ārya."

GELDNER: "Mit diesen (treib) alle Angriffe auseinander, unter  
wirf dem Arier die dasischen Stämme."

SĀYANA explains here also dāsīḥ viśaḥ as karmanām upakṣapayitrīḥ  
and āryāya as yajñādikarma-Kṛte yajamānāya and viśaḥ is ren-  
dered prajāḥ. V. MĀDHAVA explains dāsīḥ as āsūrīḥ and keeps  
viśaḥ as āryāya are unexplained.

(3) ṛsvāstvam indra sūra jāto

dāsīrviśaḥ sūryeṇa sahyāḥ / (S, 148, 2, ab)

GRIFFITH: "Sublime from birth, mayest thou O Indra, Hero, with  
Sūrya overcome the Dāsa races."

GELDNER: "Du, Held Indra, als Recke geberen, mögest mit der  
Sonne die dasischen Stämme überwinden."

SĀYANA explains "śarveyavan indra mahān darsanīyo vā tvam  
jātamātra eva dāsīḥ upakṣayakāriṇo dāsā asurāḥ /  
tatsambandhinīḥ viśaḥ prajāḥ sūryātmanā abhyabhavaḥ."

(4) śubhrāstvam indra vavṛdhāno asme

dāsīr viśaḥ sūryeṇa sahyāḥ (II, 11, 4, cd)

GRIFFITH: "With us mayest thou, O Indra, waxen splendid, with Sūrya  
overcome the Dasa races."

GELDNER: "Wenn du Indra, der Glänzende, dich bei uns Aufgereicht  
hast, sollst du die dasischen Stämme mit der Sonne  
bezwingen."

According to V. MĀDHAVA and SĀYANA dāsīr viśaḥ is upakṣapayitrīḥ  
and āsūrīḥ prajāḥ and WILSON following SĀYANA translates "...  
do thou INDRA, radiant increasing in strength, and (encouraged)  
by the sun, overpower, for our (good) the servile people."

Although the Indian commentators do not go any further than to call the dāsīh viśah as the people of a particular nature or the Asuras, it is very probable that they were the non-Aryan people.

(b) asiknā vis or kṛṣṇā vis denoting the black non-Aryan people.

(1) tvādbhiyā viśa āyann asiknīr

asamanā jāhatīr bhājanāni / (VII, 5, 3, ab)

GRIFFITH: "For fear of thee, forth fled the dark-hued races scattered abroad deserting their possessions."

GELDNER: "Aus Furcht vor dir zogen die schwarzen Stämme fort, indem sie Kampflös ihren Besitz Zurückliessen ..."

Here Agni is called the leader of the Aryas against the aboriginal tribes, black in colour, who are "prajāh asitavarnāh raksāmsītyarthah," according to SĀYANA.

(2) pūram nā dhrṣṇavā ruja kṛṣṇayā bādhitō viśā /

ānti sād bhūtu vāmavah // (VIII, 73, 18)

GRIFFITH: "By the black band encompassed round, break it, bold one like a fort. Let your protecting held be near."

GELDNER: "Zerbrich du Kühner (das Gefängnis) wie eine Burg, von dem schwarzen Stamme bedrängt ...."

But SĀYANA explains kṛṣṇayā with reference to the etymology giving it a new meaning from kṛṣ viz. ākarsayā and viśā also as pravesayantya petikayā and this is not very satisfactory.

kṛṣṇā vis in all likelihood suggests "the dark-hued races" as it is said by "asiknī vis".

(c) adevīr viśah

(1) /....

Thus, viśah here also denotes "classes of men like the god worshipping men etc."

(1) ksāyam dātājāram yēna janāntsprdho adevīrabhi ca kramāma viśa ādevīr abhyāśnavāma (VI, 49, 15, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Give us a lasting home that we may battle with godless bands of men who fight against us and meet with tribes to whom the Gods are gracious."

GELDNER: "Nun gebet uns ... unmerbhihenden Wohnsitz, womit wir die (anderen) Leute, die gottlosen Nebenbuhlerschaften überbieten, es mit den gottlosen Stämmen aufnehmen Können."

SĀYANA explains adevīh janān śatnēn as adevasambandinīh āsurīh senāh and ādevīh viśah as āgatā devā yāsu havīh svikārārtham tā ādevyāh / tādrśīśca viśah prajā yajñānuṣṭhāyinīryena dhanam grheṇa ca abhyāśnavāma tādrśam dhanam grham cadātetyanvayah.

V. MĀDHAVA connects sprdhah with janān as spardhayitrīn manūsyān and then again with viśah as spardhayitrīścāsurīh viśo

bhikramāma and not only the āsurīh viśah but also ādevīh i.e. the devasambandinīśca viśah. In any case we find here viśah used as "people" or "classes or men such as those who worship the gods and those who do not."

(2) viśo ādevīrabhyācarantīr brhaspatināyujendrah sasāhe (VIII, 96, 15, cd)

GRIFFITH: "And Indra, with Brhaspati to aid him, conquered the godless tribes that came against him."

GELDNER: "Die anrückenden gottlosen Stämme hat Indra mit Brhaspati als Bundesgenossen bezwungen."

SĀYANA explains "adevīh" as "adyotamānāh kṛṣṇarūpā" or as "pāpayuktatvād astutyāh" then ācarantīh viśah as āgacchantī asurasenāh. Thus, viśah here also denotes "classes of men like the god worshipping men etc."

(d) vis probably referring to the Aryans.

(1) yādī vīso vrnāte dasmāmaryā

agnim hotāram ādha dhīrajāyata // (X, 11, 4, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Then when Aryan tribes chose as invoking Priest Agni the Wonderworker, and the hymn rose up."

GELDNER: "Sooft die arischen Stämme den Meister Agni zum Hotr wählen, entstand auch das andächtige Lied."

SĀYANA explains āryāḥ as abhiḡamanīyam tam (may be the drapsa, the Soma juice referred to in the first line) vrajantah and visah as yajamānāḥ manusyaḥ.

(2) tām mēdhuṣu prathamam devayāntīr

vīsa ūpa bruvate dasmām āriḥ // (I, 77, 3, cd)

GRIFFITH: "The pious Aryan tribes at sacrifices address them first to him who doeth marvels."

GELDNER: "Ihn, den, Meister rufen zuerst die gottergebenen arischen Stämme beiden Opfern an."

But SĀYANA explains "visah" as "prajāḥ" and the visah is explained as dasmam darsa nīyam tam agnim āriḥ gacchantyaḥ ityarthah. SKANDA SVAMIN explains visah as brāhmaṇādīmanusya-jātayaḥ. WILSON following him translates dasmam āriḥ visah by "men ..... approaching the well looking Agni ....."

(3) tāmīlata prathamam vajñasādham

vīsa ārīr āhutam rñjasānam / (I, 96, 3, ab)

GRIFFITH: "Praise him ye Āryan folk, as chief performer of sacrifice ....."

GELDNER: "Ihn beriefen die arischen Stämme als den ersten Opferausrichter, den (mit Schmalz) begossenen, bevorzugten, ...."



SĀYANA explains however ārīh visāh in the same way as the previous instance. WILSON following him translates "Approaching him, let all men adore Agni ....." But this meaning of SĀYANA and other Indian annotators (SKANDA however explains visāh as manusyajātayah) seemingly do not take into consideration the historical fact of the Vedic Aryans at fight with the non-Aryans, and although we cannot say definitely about ārīh, āryaṇ in the first instance at least has in all probability the sense of "the Aryans" and visāh in that connection "the class of people."

(e) The names of certain viśes.

(1) yādim sumitrā viśo āgra indhate

ghṛténāhuto jarate dāvidyutat // (X, 69, 1, cd)

GRIFFITH: "... When first the people of Sumitra kindle it, with the Angirasas are kindled, like that. bright."

GELDNER: "...Wenn ihn die Sumitra - clane Zuvor anzünden, so wird er mit schmalz begossen munter, hell leuchtend

(Sumitrā viśah offenes komposition für Sumitrasya

(1) viśah. Sind die trtsunām viśah VII, 33, 6, zu

vergleichen?)

Here SĀYANA also explains sumitrā viśah as etannāmadheyāh amī manusyāh.

(2) ābhavacca puraetā vasiṣṭha

ādīt trtsunām viśo aprathanta (VII, 33, 6, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Vasiṣṭha then became their chief and leader: then

widely were the Trtsus' clans extended."

GELDNER: /...

GELDNER: "Als Vasistha ihr Führer ward, da breiteten sich die Clane der Trtsu's aus." (I, 31, 11, ab)

HILLEBRANDT: "...Da trat Vasistha an die Spitze, und die Stämme der Trtsus breiteten sich aus." (I, 31, 11, ab)

SĀYANA also explains trtsūnām viśaḥ as trtsūnām prajāḥ.

(3) nāksaddhavam aruṇīḥ pūrvyam rāt  
turō viśām āngirasāmanu dyūn // (I, 121, 3, ab)

SĀYANA explains the last portion thus:

(anu dyun) anudivasam (viśām) manusyānām āngirasām  
rsīnām tadapatya bhūtānām vā asmākam /

GRIFFITH does not translate viśām in his translation of the passage. GELDNER translates the latter portion "(es kam auf den Ruf) der Angiras' der Gebieter der Clane alle Tage." In this instance we are not definite if the people belonging to the Angirases are signified here although SKANDA explains it like that.

(f) We have seen in connection with vikṣu the adjective nāhusīsu which has been understood by some as the people belonging to Nahus, according to some, Nahus is the representative of 'man.'

(1) sā nirūdhya nāhuso yāvō agnir  
viśāścakre balihr̥taḥ sahoḥbhīḥ // (VII, 6, 5, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Young Agni, who with conquering strength subduing the tribes of Nahus made them bring their tribute."

GELDNER: "Agni, der Jüngste, machte durch seine Übermacht die Stämme des Nahus tributpflichtig, nach dem er sie nieder gehalten hatte."

V. MĀDHAVA, and SĀYANA, explains nāhuso rajñāḥ viśaḥ prajāḥ cakre.

(2) /....

(2) tvā́magne prathamám āyúm āyáve devá akr̥nvan

nāhusasya víspátim / (I, 31, 11, ab)

GRIFFITH: "Thee Agni, have the gods made the first living One  
for living man, Lord of the house of Nahusha."

GELDNER: "Dich Agni machten die Götter zum ersten Äyu für den  
Äyu, zum Stammes fürsten des Nahuste. (GELDNER  
thinks that Nahusa is one Aryantribe.)

Among the Indian interpreters SĀYANA and SKANDA explain that it  
refers to the fact that the god Agni was made a vispati i.e.

senāpati in the human form of a human king Nahusa but

V. MĀDHAVA explains vispatim nāma putram. Holding SĀYANA and  
SKANDA's explanation is more convincing nahusasya vispatim, may  
denote the lord of Nahusa's people.

(3) tr̥ṇaskandāsya nú víśah

pāri vr̥ṇkta sudānavah /

ūrdhvānnah karta jīvāse // (I, 172, 3)

GRIFFITH: "O bounteous Givers, touch ye not O Maruts, Tr̥ṇaskanda's  
folk; Lift ye us up that we may live."

GELDNER: "Verschonet doch den Clan des Tr̥ṇaskanda ihr  
Gabenschönen! Richtet uns zum Leben auf."

SĀYANA explains: "tr̥ṇaskandasya" as "calanasvabhā vasya  
susyamānasya vā mama víśah putra bhṛtyādirūpāh prajāh ...."

Following SĀYANA to some extent WILSON translates:

"Maruts, liberal benefactors, protect my people,

(although I be) as insignificant as grass; lift  
us up, that we may live."

V. MĀDHAVA considers tr̥ṇaskanda as the name of a king and his  
vises/...

vises his people are the enemies of the invokers of the hymn.

(4) yuvám kavī s̥t̥hah páryasvinā rátham

visó na kutso jaritur nasāyathah / (X, 40, 6, ab)

GRIFFITH: "O Ásvins, ye are wise: as Kutsa comes to men bring

(3) your car nigh the folk of him who sings your praise."

GELDNER translates the latter half "Ihr kommet wie Kutsa in die

GRIFFITH: Häuser des Sängers."

SĀYANA's explanation of the latter half is confusing. He interprets the latter half: O Ásvins you approach the car to reach the sacrifice of the invoker, like Kutsa and Kutsa and Indra mounted the same car.

Hence vis in all these instances may be understood as "man" in the narrow sense, the plural form signifying "group" or "class of men" almost similar to "tribe" or "clan" but not necessarily to be called by these terms, and it may also denote the subjects of a king for which the following instances are given.

(5) navamāno abhi surāno visā vājeva śidati (IX, 7, 5, ab)

(v) visah in connection with rājan signifies the subjects of the king.

(a) (1) apām upasthe mahiṣā agrbhnata

visorājānam upa tasthur rgmīyam (VI, 8, 4, ab)

GRIFFITH: "The mighty seized him in the bosom of the floods

SĀYANA: the people waited on the king who should be praised."

GELDNER: "..... die Clanleute huldigten dem preis würdigen

König."

SĀYANA explains visah as prajāh, SKANDA as manusya iva approaching the King (rājan) who is laudable.

(2) visām rājānam ādbhutam ādhyakṣam dhārmanānimam

agnimīle sā u śravat / (VIII, 43, 24)

GRIFFITH /...



GRIFFITH: "I pray to Agni, King of men, the Wonderful, the Pres-  
visah in the identity of the Holy Laws, may he give ear."

GELDNER: "Den König der Stämme."

SĀYANA explains visām as prajānām, rājānam as īsvaram

(3) dhruvām visvām idām jagad

dhruvo rājā visām ayām / (X, 173, 4, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Stedfast is all this living world, Stedfast also  
 according is this king of men."

GELDNER: ".... fest dieser König der Clane."

HILLEBRANDT: "....fest hier der König der Stämme."

(4) rājā visām atithiscārur āyave (II, 2, 8, d)

GRIFFITH: "... fair guest of living man and King of all our folk."

GELDNER: "... er der König der Stämme, für den Ayusohn ein  
 gerngesehner Gast."

SĀYANA: rājamānah svāmī prajānām atithivatpūjyah.

V. MĀDHAVA: rājā manuṣyā nām atithih

(5) pavamāno abhi sprdho viśo rājeva sīdati (IX, 7, 5, ab)

GRIFFITH: "When purified, he sits as King above the hosts among  
 his folk ...."

GELDNER: "Sich läuternd schüchtert er die Gegner ein wie ein  
 König seine Untertanen, ...."

SĀYANA: "...kṣaranneṣa somah ... sparkhamānān yāgavighnakārīṇo-  
rākṣasān (visah) spardhamānān manuṣyān rājeva abhi  
sīdati nāsayitum abhigacchati."

Here SĀYANA's meaning seems to be confusing. GELDNER's trans-  
 :lation is very satisfactory - viz. "As the King his subjects  
 so Soma overpowers the adversaries."

(6) The scholars are mostly unanimous to hold the word visāh in IV, 50, 8, cd as denoting the subjects of a king:

tāsmāi visāh svayāmevā namante

yāsmīn brahmā rājāni pūrva eti

manusyāh jāna padāh (V. MĀDHAVA), prajāh (SĀYANA), "(To him)

the people (with free will pay homage)," according to GRIFFITH,

"(Vor dem König beugen sich von selbst) die Untertanen,"

according to GELDNER.

(b) Very important are the following examples which are often cited as illustrations of the Vedic people electing the King.

(1) tā im visō na rājānam vrñānā

bhatsuvo apa vrtrād atisthan (X, 124, 8, cd)

GRIFFITH: "And they like people, who elect their ruler, have

in abhorrence turned away from Vrtra."

GELDNER: "Während sie ihn wie die Clane ihren König ereumählten,

haben sie sich spröde von Vrtra abgewandt."

SĀYANA explains "... prajā yathā rājānam svāminam sambhajante

....." meanings - (1) You too be capable of

(Instead of understanding vr as "to elect" as GRIFFITH does, or even as "to select" as GELDNER (which is still better) we can take the meaning of "to honour" as SĀYANA probably understands.

But the following example has similar occurrence with verb

vāñch which seems to denote "to choose" i.e. "to select."

(2) visastvā sārva vāñchanti

mā tvad rāstrām ādhi bhrasat // (X, 173, 1)

GRIFFITH: "Let all the people wish for thee: let not thy King-

:ship fall away."

GELDNER/...

GELDNER: "Alle Clane sollen dich wünschen; die Herrschaft be the subject soll dir nicht entfallen." and there are some instances

HILLEBRANDT: "Mögen alle Stämme dich lieben Nicht weiche die protector Herrschaft von der."

In all these instances we can at best say that the people's liking for a rājan was important at Vedic times. (Both these instances belong to the last Mandala of the RV.)

(c) (1) aryó visām gātūreti prá yadānad divo antān  
(X, 20, 4, ab)

GRIFFITH: "Kind, Furtherer of men, he comes when he hath reached the ends of heaven, ....."

GELDNER: "Der (Tages) lauf des hohen Herrn (und) der Clansleute geht weiter, ....."

SĀYANA however explains aryah as gantavyah of the yajamāna men which meaning is not satisfactory.

(2) yuvām tāsām divyasya prasāsane  
(I, 128, 7, ab)

SĀYANA suggests two meanings - (1) You two be capable of (Ksayathah) instructing all the prajā-s (visām) living in the three regions, and (2) You two be lords over (Ksayathah) the matter of giving the rain-water which is the heavenly nectar for the people (visām) .....

GRIFFITH translates divyasya prasāsane visām Ksayathah by "are in supreme dominion Lords of all these folk."

GELDNER however translates visām ksayathah by (Ihr habt auf Geheiss .... über diese Stämme."

(d) /...

(d) In all these examples vis in plural number is found to be the subjects of the rājan, the King, and there are some instances where vis-pati appears to be the same as rājan being the Lord, protector of vis such as:

(9) vispátim yahvámátithim nárah sádā

yantāram dhīnām usijam ca vāghatām (III, 3, 8, ab)

But as the Rgvedic verses are essentially religious, vis-pati ultimately stands for a god, mostly for Agni (even by calling rājan not the mortal king but a god is meant.)

(11) nī tvā cakṣya vispate dyumantan deva

(vi) There are thus almost all uses of vispati to signify a god where vis does not have any sense of the social group of man and need no detailed discussion:

(a) - signifying Agni:

(1) priyo no astu vis-pátir hotā mandró vārenyah

(14) ubha toke tacayo deana visp (I, 26, 7, ab)

(2) sá revā' iva vispátir daivyah Ketuh srnotu nah

(15) vispā havin vispātin mīmā (I, 27, 12, ab)

(3) divāscit pūrvo nyasādi hotā - tejasa (III, 2, 10, ab)

(16) prcchyo vispátir vikṣu vedhāh (I, 60, 2, cd)

(4) sá mánuse vrjāne sántamo hito (III, 13, 3, cd)

(17) 'gnír yajñesu jēnyo na vispátih (I, 128, 7, ab)

(5) agne jaritar vispátistepāno deva raksāsah

(18) āproshivān grhāpatir mahā' asi

divaspāyūr duronayuh (VIII, 60, 19) 1, ab)

(The (6) agnim agnim hāvimabhih sādāhavanta vispátim to be connected with some word other than vis (I, 12, 2, ab) seems to

be/... (7) /...



- (7) devāsasca mātāsasca jāgrvim  
vibhūm viśpātim nāmasā nī sedire (VI, 15, 8, cd)
- (8) yūvānam viśpātim Kavīm  
viśvādam puru vēpasam (VIII, 44, 26, ab)
- (9) sūscandra dāśma viśpate havyavāt  
tūbhyam hūyata iśam stotr̥bhya ābhara //  
 (V, 6, 5, cd)
- (10) samr̥dho viśpate kr̥ṇu jusāsva havyām amgirah //  
 (VI, 2, 10, cd)
- (11) nī tvā nakṣya viśpate dyumāntam deva  
dhīmahi (VII, 15, 7, ab)
- (12) śrūstyagne nāvasya me stōmasya vīra viśpate  
nīmāyinas tāpusā rakṣāso daha // (VIII, 23, 14)
- (13) viśām adhāyi viśpātir duronē (VII, 7, 4, c)  
 (viśām is explained as "of men" (in general))
- (14) ubhē tokē tānaye dasma viśpate pārṣi  
rādho maghōnām (VIII, 103, 7, cd)
- (15) viśām kavīm viśpātim mānuṣīr iśah  
sām sīm akr̥ṇvantsvādhitim nā tejase (III, 2, 10, ab)
- (16) ṛkvāṇo agnīm indhate hotāram viśpātim viśām  
 (III, 13, 5, cd)
- (17) viśām kavīm viśpātim mānuṣīnām (V, 4, 3, a)
- (18) viśām kavīm viśpātim śasvatīnām (VI, 1, 8, a)
- (19) yajñasya vo rathyaṁ viśpātim viśām  
hotāram aktōr ātithim vibhāvasum (X, 92, 1, ab)

(The word viśpātim in all the above instances appears to be connected with some word other than viśām and viśpati seems to be/...

be "the lord" while visām may mean "of human beings (in general)" or narrowed to the meaning of the devotees of Agni.)

(b) Maruts are referred to as vispati in:

yēsām ājmesu prthivī jujurvā iva vispātiḥ with Love

bhiyā yamesu rajate // (I, 37, 8)

GRIFFITH: "They at whose racings forth the earth like an age weakened lord of men, trembles in terror on their ways."

GELDNER translated jujurvā iva viāpatiḥ by "wie ein alter Stammes fürst."

SĀYANA and V. MĀDHAVA understand vispati as "a king" "prajāpālaka", but SKANDA explains "putrapautrādīnām manusyaṇām patirvispatiḥ/"

(c) To Indra is addressed:

indra prā no dhitāvānam yajñām visvebhir devebhiḥ /

tirah stavāna vispate // (III, 40, 3) sprinkled.

SĀYANA explains vispate as visām pate, marutāmpate.

GRIFFITH: "Lord of men," and GELDNER: "Stammesfürst.")

(d) In a verse belonging to Mitra and Varuna, it is said:

ayāmeka itthā purūru caṣṭe vi vispātiḥ (VIII, 25, 16, ab)

GRIFFITH: "Here, this one god, the Lord of men, looks forth exceeding far and wide, ...."

GELDNER: "Dieser Stammesfürst ~~dortschau~~ ganz allein über vieles weithin." Mitra is here called visām pālayitā according to SĀYANA.

(e) Soma is described Vispati which denotes "a King" as visām vahniḥ ("Prince supporter of the tribes"- GRIFFITH) ("prajānām vadhā vispatiḥ rājeva" - SĀYANA.)

in /...

in IX, 108, 10, ab: ā vacyasva sudakṣa camboh

to the gods. sutó viśám váhnir ná viśpátih /

(f) ātrā no viśpátih pitā puranā́nu venati (X, 135, 1, cd)

GRIFFITH: "The Father, Master of the house, tendeth with Love  
our ancient Sires."

GELDNER: "... dort schaut sich unser Vater, der Clanherr nach  
seinen Alt vorderen um." This is said about Yama  
the god who is the lord of the dead men, who may be considered  
his subjects.

SĀYANA explains viśpati here asviśám prajānām adhipati or  
prajānām prakāśana-pravarśanādinā pālayitā.

(g) In a hymn to Visvedevas

trtiyo bhrātā ghr̥tāpr̥sthō asyā

-trāpasyam viśpatim sapta putram // (I, 164, 1, cd)

GRIFFITH: "... The third is he whose back with oil is sprinkled.  
Here I behold the Chief with seven male children."

GELDNER: "Sein dritter Bruder trägt Schmalz auf dem Rücken.

In diesem erschante ich den Stammhern mit sieben  
Söhnen." (HILLEBRANDT translates almost similarly.)

SĀYANA explains viśpatim as viśám prajānām pālayitāram.

SKANDA in the commentary to 'Nirukta,' tries to elucidate it  
thus: visvasya pātāram bhaumasye rasasya pālayitāram vā rasmibhī  
raksitāram ityarthah, thus explaining vis by visva.

DURGA also explains it as sarvasya jagatah pālayitā,

In all these instances however we find viśpati referring to the  
gods, generally as the Lord protector of all men or the people  
who are ritually in subjection to them.

(h) But there are a few instances of vispati which do not refer to the gods.

(1) sāstu mātā sāstu pitā sāstu svā sāstu vispātiḥ  
sasantu sārve jñātāyah sāvayam abhito janah  
 (VII, 55, 5)

GRIFFITH: "Sleep mother, let the father sleep, sleep dog and  
 master of the house, Let all the Kinsmen sleep,  
 sleep all the people who are round about."

(vii) As noted by GRIFFITH this and three following stanzas from a  
 sleepsong sung as a charm by a lover on a secret visit to his  
 love. SĀYANA's account that Vasistha entering Varuna's home  
 for food was chased by the house dog when he chanted these  
 verses. ~~less~~ is ~~more~~ acceptable.

GELDNER: "... der Clanherr soll schlafen Alle Verwandten  
 sollen schlafen, diese Leute allent halben sollen  
 schlafen."

HILLEBRANDT calls vispati "Hausherr."

(2) Śaye vavriśārati jihvāyā dān  
rerihyāte yuvatim vispātiḥ sām (X, 4, 4, cd)

GRIFFITH: "There lies the form: he moves, and licks and swallows  
 and as Houselord, kisses the youthful maiden."

GELDNER (latter half): " .... als der Clanherr leckt (Küsst) er  
 helftig die Jugendliche."

Here Agni is compared to the vispati and the licking of the  
 oblation (yuvatim is ātmanah misrayitrīm āhutim according to  
 SĀYANA) by the flame which is like tongue is poetically said to  
 be the kissing of a maiden. But we should not draw an inference  
 from/...



from it that the viśpati used to kiss the maidens of the house or anything like that because the comparison may not be drawn very far and viśpati which may suggest the "head of the house" as found in the previous instance is actually said in respect of Agni of the house who is also called grhapati (I, 12, 6; VII, 15, 2; VII, 16, 5; I, 36, 5; VI, 15, 13; X, 122, 1 ..... ab) etc.) (13) agnas agnā vidha nah pratyah nah samāna bhava /

grā no vaccha viśpatis dhanadā asi nas tvam //

(vii) (a) The use of viś in the sense of people devoted to the gods or the ritual attendants of the gods is numerous, where the religious context is apparent. These examples need no detailed discussion as the word viś here does not signify any social group.

(1) hótāram viśvavedasam sām hītvā viśya indhāte (16) vasi bradhvariyātām agne no (I, 44, 7, ab) (VI, 2, 10, ab)

(2) prā yad ānad viśa ā harmyasyoru kramsate adhware

yaajatrah (I, 121, 1, cd)

(3) sociśkesam vṛsanani yam imā viśah prāvantu

(14) prā vāruṣis supraye jūtaye viśah (I, 127, 2, ef)

(4) tvām agne dāma ā viśpātim viśas

tvām rājānam suvidātram rñjate (II, 1, 8, ab)

(5) tvām viśo anayo dīdyāno divo agne brhatā rocanēna //

viśam agne ajaram pratham (VI, 1, 7, cd) (23, 20)

(6) mandram hótāram usijo yaviṣṭham agnim viśa īlate

adhvarēsu (VII, 10, 5, ab)

(7) tām tvā havīsmatīr viśa ūpa bruvata ūtaye (I, 36, 5, ab)

urujrāyasam indubhih (VIII, 6, 27)

(8) /...worshipping Agni.../

(22) /...

(8) índre haviṣmatīr viśo arāṇiṣuh (VIII, 13, 16, cd)

(9) viśām agnīm svādhvaram ... bhāratā vasuvīṭhamam

(VI, 16, 40, cd & 41 b)

(10) viśo yēna gācchatho yajvarīrnarā (X, 41, 2, e)

(11) āgne yādadyā viśo adhvarasya hotaḥ (VI, 15, 14, a)

(12) svastidā viśāspatir vrtrahā vimr̥dhō vaśī (X, 152, 2, ab)

(13) agne ācchā videhā nah pratyān nah sumānā bhava /  
prā no yaccha viśaspate dhanadā asi nas tvam //

(X, 141, 1)

(14) viśo viśa īdyam adhvarēsu

adr̥ptakratum aratīm yuvatyoh // (VI, 49, 2, ab)

(15) viśām akr̥navannaratīm pāvakām

havyavāham dādhatō mānuseṣu // (X, 106, 4, cd)

(15a) viśvāsām tvā viśām pātīm havāmahe (I, 127, 8, a)

(16) veśi hyādhvariyaṭām agne hōtā dāme viśām (VI, 2, 10, ab)

(17) hōtā mandrō viśām dāmūnās tirāstāmd dadr̥se

rāmyānām (VII, 9, 2, cd)

(18) ātaḥ saṃgr̥bhya viśām dām̐tēnā (X, 46, 6, cd)

(18a) prā vārur̥je suprayā barhīreṣāmā

viśpātīva bīrita iyāte

viśām aktōr usāsah pūrvāhūtau (VII, 39, 2, abc)

(19) tām huvema yatāsrucāḥ subhāsām śukrāsociṣām

viśām agnīm ajāram pratnāmīdyam (VIII, 23, 20)

(20) āgne ketūr viśām asi prēsthah śrēsthā upasthasāt

bōdhā stotre vāyo dādhat // (X, 156, 5)

(21) mandrō hōtā gr̥hāpatir āgne dūto viśām asi (I, 36, 5, ab)

(where viśām evidently denotes "of the people  
worshipping Agni.")

(22) /...

(22) pātir hyadhvarāṇām āgne dūtó viśām asi (I, 44, 9, ab)

(b) vispatnī in the following two instances has vis in the sense of not any social group of men but people denoted to religious practices in general.

(1) etām vispatnīm ā bharāgnīm manthāma pūrvāthā

(III, 29, 1, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Bring there the Matron ("visām pālayitrīm aranīm" - V. MĀDHAVA, "die Stammesfürstin" - GELDNER, "die Herrin des Gaues" - HILLEBRANDT.)

(2) yā subāhuh svāngurīh susūmā bahusūvarī /

tasyai vispatnyai havih sinivalai juhota // (II, 32, 7)

Here Sinivāli is called vispatnī evidently as visām "of mankind" in general, or "of people devoted to the religious rites." We have already noted that vispatnī is understood by OLDENBERG as "housewife" and by GRASSMANN as "Hausfrau, Gebieterin," but these are not acceptable with regard to the instances cited.

(viii) The following instances of vis appear to be unconnected with any religious activity, and seems to be not the group of men on religious occasions.

(a) (1) vyanjate divó antesvaktūn

viśo ná yuktā usāso yatante (VII, 79, 2, ab)

The latter portion is translated by GRIFFITH into "The Dawns come on like tribes arrayed for battle," - by GELDNER into "wie Kampfgerüstete Stämme wetteifern die Usās miteinander." SĀYANA also explains viśah as prajā iva senā eva. But V. MĀDHAVA explains it as manuṣyāh and, unlike SĀYANA who explains/...

visvāgāna // (IV, 12, 4)

explains "yuktāḥ .. yatante" as "parasparam saṃyuktāḥ . . .  
prayatante tamanāsanāya atra gamanāya vā," V. MĀDHAVA explains  
 it as yuktāḥ kāryeṣu ... prayatnam kurvanti. The European  
 scholars are led by SĀYANA's explanation. But V. MĀDHAVA's  
 explanation suggesting "all people engaged at their work" seems  
 to be more suitable.

(b) prā yé viśas tirānta śrōsamānā  
ā yé me asyā dīdhayanmrtasya // (VII, 7, 6, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Who, listening, have advanced the people's welfare,  
 and set their thoughts on this my holy statute."

SĀYANA explains "ye ca viśaḥ janāḥ ..." and V. MĀDHAVA  
annārthiṇiḥ prajāḥ vaiśvānarādhiṣṭhitāḥ,

GELDNER translates viśaḥ śrōsamānāḥ by "die gehorsamen Clane."

(c) viśaḥ in I' 25, 1

(1) yāciddhī te viśo yathā prā deva varuṇa vratām /  
 (4) minṁmasi dyāvidyavi //

is explained by GELDNER and HILLEBRANDT as "die Untertanen,"  
 seemingly because Varuṇa is very often called "the King" (rājan.)  
 But the emphasis here is probably on its sense of "human being"  
 in contrast with the word deva as Varuṇa is called so. GRIFFITH  
 translates "Whatever law of thine, O God, O Varuṇa, as we are  
 men, day after day we violate." (SĀYANA - "yathā loke viśaḥ  
prajāḥ kadācit pramādam kurvanti tathā vayamapi ....") is supposed  
 (V. MĀDHAVA - "viśo yathā" - "anya manusyavat.")

This verse is compared to IV, 12, 4:

yāciddhī te puruṣatrā yaviṣṭhācittibhiścakrṃā

kaccidāgaḥ /

krdhī sva - Smā'āditer ānagān vyēnāmsi śīsratho

viśvagāgne // (IV, 12, 4)



(2) Again in I, 35, 5, cd

śasvad víśaḥ savitúr dāivyasyo pásthe víśvā bhúvanāni  
tasthuh //

WILSON translates according to SĀYANA's explanation: "Men and all the regions are ever in the presence of the divine Savitr."

GRIFFITH: "Held in the lap of Savitar, divine one, all men all beings have their place forever."

(3) In I, 117, 2, ab:

yó vāmasvinā manaso jávīyān rāthah svásvo  
víśa ājigati /

WILSON following SĀYANA translates the line into "With that car, Asvins, which rapid as thought, drawn by good horses, appears before men ...."

V. MĀDHAVA also explains visah here as manusyaṇ.

(4) In I, 70, 2, cd:

ádrau cidasmā antár duro-né  
visám ná víśvo amṛtaḥ svādhīh (I, 70, 2, cd)

(1x) GRIFFITH: "To him even in the rock and in the house Immortal One, he cares for all mankind."

GELDNER: is not sure about his meaning when he translates the second half of the line into "er ist wie der Clangenosse (?) unter den Clanen, der wohl meinde Unsterbliche" as he is supposed to derive visva from vis or reads it as vispa like OLDENBERG who translates this portion by "He is like a protector of the Clans the immortal one, he who is of a good mind." But MAX MÜLLER translates it thus: "To him also who dwells in the rock and/...

and in the house every immortal like everyone among men is well-disposed." Among the Indian interpreters SKANDA explains visvāḥ as sarvāḥ - sarva kārṇyakaratvācca sarva iti vyāpadesaḥ and visām as yastrīṇām stotrīṇām manusyanām. But V. MĀDHAVA and SĀYANA explain visvāḥ as nivesakāḥ and nivesayitā sukhēnāvasthāpayitā rājā. SĀYANA comments "prajānām yathā rakṣaṇa rūpa śobhanakarmayukto bhavati tadvat." It is found that visām na visvāḥ has not been satisfactorily explained by anybody, yet it does not seem to have referred to any special group of men.

(5) In I, 94, 5, ab:

visām gopā asya caranti jantāvo

dvipācca yadutā cātuspad aktūbhiḥ /  
visām gopā is translated by GRIFFITH by "the guardians of the folk," by GELDNER into "der Hirt der Ansiedelungen," and SĀYANA explains the first part thus: "asya agneḥ jantavah jātāḥ rāsmayah visām sarveṣām prāṇinām gopāḥ gopāryitaro rakṣakāḥ santah caranti udgacchanti." "the tribes (on the field of battle)."

(ix) Sometimes vis is found in the military context, when it seems to denote the army.

(1) putró ná jātó ranvó duroné vājīná prītó víso vītārīt /  
víso yadahve nrbhiḥ sánīlā agnir devatvá vísvāny  
asyāḥ (I, 69, 3)

GRIFFITH: "Born in the dwelling like a lovely son, pleased like a strong steed, he bears on the folk. What time the men and I, with heroes call, may Agni then gain all through Godlike power."

SĀYANA /... The word visāḥ however stands as

SĀYANA explains the first visah as saṃgrāme vartanānāḥ satrubhūtāḥ prajāḥ - visesena tarati atikramati and the second visah as daivīḥ prajāḥ ... āhvayāmi.

V. MĀDHAVA explains the second visah as rtvijah manusyan.

SKANDA explains the first one as stotrīṇ yastrīṣca manusyan, and the second as devavisah or devān.

But we cannot be definite about the military idea lying in the first word visah here. GELDNER just translates both the words as "Clane" although the word vājī is translated by "Streitross."

(2) sam yad visō 'vavṛtranta yudhmā ādinnēme indrayante abhīke (IV, 24, 4, cd)

In the first portion of the line visah is rendered by all interpreters as "people in war fighting."

(3) sam yadvisō 'yanta śūrasātāḥ (VI, 26, 1, c) visah here is rendered by SĀYANA as janāḥ, by V. MĀDHAVA as śūrāḥ (in the saṃgrāma), by GELDNER AS "die Stämme(in der Schlacht)," by GRIFFITH as "the tribes (on the field of battle)."

(4) ādhi yad asmin vājīnīva śubhah

(a) spārdhante dhiyah sūrye nā visah / (IX, 94, 1, ab)

GRIFFITH: "When beauties strive for him as for a charger, then strive the songs like soldiers for the sunlight."

GELDNER is not clear in his translation: "Wenn um ihn die Dichtungen, wetteifern wie die Auszeichnungen um einen siegreichen (Renner) wie die Clane um die Clane um die Sonne."

SĀYANA explains dhiyah as the "fingers" which "vie" one with the other" ("aḥam purastācchodayāmyahampurāḥ sodhayāmīty aḥamahāmikayopatiṣṭhanti." ) The word visah however stands as "the/...

"the sun's rays" and has no military sense, only they challenge one another in going to the sun.

(5) éko bahūnām asi manyavīlito

vīsam vīsam yudhaye sām śisādhi (X, 84, 4, ab)

GRIFFITH: "Alone of many thou are worshipped, Many sharpen the spirit of each clan for battle."

This translation follows the explanation of SĀYANA: vīsam vīsam tām tām asmadvirodhinīm prajām yuddhāya samyak tīkṣṇīkuru.

GELDNER's translation also follows his explanation.

Here vī appears to be "groups of men" who are to be ready for battle.

(x) Vī qualified by mānuṣī etc. (as we have seen in the instances of mānuṣīsu vikṣu and so on) denotes "mankind." We cannot be certain whether vī in these instances stands for a "being," for like mānuṣī vī there is also daivī vī. If Vī indicated a group of human beings, mānuṣī vī would be tautological, and daivī vī would be absurd. Let us take the examples

(a) Qualified by mānuṣī

(1) yādi viśo mānuṣīr devayāntēh

prāyasvatīrīlate śukramarciḥ // (III, 6, 3, cd)

(2) tvāmagne mānuṣīr īlate viśo

hotrāvidam vivicim ratnadhātamaḥ / (V, 8, 3, ab)

(3) yāt samprccham mānuṣīr viśa

āyantvām nr̥bhīr ajayastvāvrdheḥ // (X, 69, 9, cd)

(4) agnim viśa īlate mānuṣīr yā

agnim mānuṣo nāhuṣo vijātān (X, 80, 6, ab)

(GELDNER's /...



(GELDNER's rendering seems to be the most satisfactory: "Agni berufen die menschlichen Stämme Agni die verschiedenen Abkommen des Manus, des Nahus" - whereby in the first part it may have been said about all groups of Agni worshippers in the second half specially about those descending from Manu and from Nahus.

Manus and Nahus as the forefathers of the races of men are already noticed in the examples mānuṣīṣu vikṣu and nāhuṣīṣu vikṣu) also agnim hotāramīlate vajñesu manuṣo viśah (VI, 14, 2, cd)

(5) manyūm viśa īlate mānuṣīryāh

(c) The god pāhi no manyo tapasā sajośāh (X, 83, 2, cd)

(6) ādābhyah puraetā viśāmagñir mānuṣīnām (III, 11, 5, ab)

(7) priyo viśām ātithir mānuṣīnām (V, 1, 9, d)

(8) viśām kavīm viśpatim mānuṣīnām (V, 4, 3, a) near the

(9) dhartāram mānuṣīnām viśām agnim svadhvarām of heaven."

GELDNER: "... opfers den Glanz des Himmels" (V, 9, 3, cd)

(10) viśvāsām grhāpatir viśāmasi "divine prayers ... shall"

But V. MAEDA: tvām agne mānuṣīnām (VI, 48, 8, ab)

We may understand viś (in plural) in these instances, as SĀYANA specially understands, as the ritual attendants of Agni, and the epithet mānuṣī, probably signifies that these attendants of Agni are human.

The singular form in yenā nū kam mānuṣī bhōjate viṭ (I, 72, 8, d)

(b) With manuṣya atyā śayam āvarāṣa (I, 50, 3)

GRIFFITH: edhamānadvilubhāyasya rājā Gods, thou comest hither

coskūyāte viśa indro manuṣyān (VI, 47, 16, cd)

GRIFFITH: "King of both words, hating the high and haughty

Indra protects the men who are his people.")

Here/...

Here visāḥ may stand for the group of men who are followers of Indra and then manuṣyān is said to emphasise that they are men.

(GRASSMANN understands manuṣyān as Genitive plural in connection with visāḥ as devān viśa and martān viśa in antariyase aruṣā yujāno

yusmāmsca devān viśa ā ca martān (IV, 2, 3, cd)

But the essential meaning of the line does not differ if they are Accusative plural.

(c) The gods are called divo viśaḥ.

(1) tvaṁ hótā manurhito vahnirāsā viduṣṭarah  
agne yakṣi divo viśaḥ (VI, 16, 9)

(GRIFFITH: "Invoker placed by Manus, thou, Agni, art near the wisest Priest: Pay worship to the tribes of heaven."

GELDNER: "... opfere den Clänen des Himmels."

SĀYANA explains - "dyulokasambandhinēḥ daivīḥ prajāḥ ... yaja"

But V. MĀDHAVA gives a derivational meaning of visāḥ -

"dyulokasya niveṣayitrñ devān yakṣi."

(d) By devānam viśaḥ, the gods are denoted, so that viś here stands for a group wider enough to express the groups of gods even.

(1) pratyāṅ devānām viśaḥ pratyāṅ nūdeṣi mānuṣān /  
pratyāṅ viśvam swardrśe (I, 50, 5)

GRIFFITH: "Thou goest to the hosts of Gods, thou comest hither to mankind. Hither all light to be beheld."

GELDNER: "Den Clänen der Götter zugewand, den Menschen Zugewand ..."

V. MĀDHAVA /....

V. MĀDHAVA explains devānām viśaḥ as devān.

SKANDA explains: devānām svabhūtā yā viśastām, but he is not very clear, as SĀYANA explains devānām viśaḥ as maruṇāmākān devān quoting reference to TS. II. 2, 5, 7 "maruṇā vai devānām viśaḥ." But it is not understood why the sun rise is specially made before the presence of the Maruts. With V. MĀDHAVA's explanation we can be satisfied, the whole community of the gods being suggested by devānām viśaḥ.

(2) tā asya sūdadohasaḥ sōmam śrīnanti prśnayaḥ /  
janman devānām viśas triṣvā rocané divaḥ (VIII, 69, 3)

GRIFFITH: "The dappled kine who stream with milk prepare his draught of Soma juice Clans in the birthplace of the gods, in the three luminous realms of heaven."

GRIFFITH suggests that by the "Clans" possibly the cows are meant.

GELDNER translates the second line thus: "Bei seiner Geburt

sind der Götter Clane in den drei leicht räumen des Himmels."

GRIFFITH follows SĀYANA who connects devānām with janman (devānām janmasthāne.) But GELDNER connects viśaḥ with devānām. SĀYANA explains viśaḥ as nivisantyaḥ and comments "yajñārthopayuktānām gavām dyu-prāptiḥ prasiddhā," but it can be doubted whether SĀYANA's suggested meaning was actually intended by the Vedic poet, Specially the derivational meaning of viśaḥ. GELDNER's meaning on the other hand is quite satisfactory.

(3) mā no devānām viśaḥ prasnātīrivosrāḥ  
kṛsām ná hāsura āghnyāḥ (VIII, 75, 8)

GRIFFITH /....

GRIFFITH: "Let not the Companies of Gods fail us, like Dawns  
that float away, like cows who leave the niggardly."

GELDNER: "Nicht sollten uns die Clane der Götter im Stich  
lassen wie die badenden Kühe (ihr Kalb), wie die  
Kühe ein Schwächliches (Kalb)

SĀYANA explains devānām viśah as devānām sarveśām prajābhūtān  
paricārakān asmān and connects it as an object with agnih mā  
parityajatuḥ which he thinks is understood from the context.

The European scholars' explanation of devānām viśah as the  
subject of hāsuḥ without conceiving an ellipsis like SĀYANA,  
is also satisfactory.

(e) Daivīnām is again found as the adjective of viśam in

(g) But īndra kṣitīnāmasi mānuṣīnām

In VI, 15 viśām daivīnām utā pūrvayāvā (III, 34, 2, cd)

GRIFFITH: "O Indra, thou art equally the leader of heavenly  
hosts and human generations."

GELDNER also translates similarly: "Indra, du bist der Anführer  
der menschlichen Volker und der göttlichen Stämme."

V. MĀDHAVA while leaving viśām unexplained renders kṣitīnām as  
prajānām and SĀYANA explains viśām as (devasambandhinīnām)  
prajānām.

(f) As SĀYANA thinks deva viś refers to the Maruts, actually we  
find several instances of viś with marutām, mārutīr, marut vatīr  
and marutah.

(1) viśo adyā marūtāmāva hvaye divāscid rocanā dādhi

(V, 56, 1, cd)

(2) yadā te mārutīr viśas tūbhyam indra niyemire /

ādितte viśvā bhūvanāni yemire // (VIII, 12, 29)



(3) índram vardhamtu no gíra índram sutása índavaḥ  
índre haviṣmatīr víso arāṇiṣuḥ (VIII, 13, 16)

(4) abhi svarantu ye táva rudrásah saksata śríyam  
utó marútvatīr víso abhi prāyah (VIII, 13, 28)

(5) pró ārata maruto durmadā-iva devāsah sārwayā visā  
 (I, 39, 5, cd)

(6) édam marúto asvinā mitrah sīdantu vārūna  
devāsah sārwayā visā (V, 26, 9)

From all these instances the nature of vis appears to be "a group of men or manlike beings under the domination of a lord" (who is Indra here, over the Maruts) and Indra is called vispati in III, 40, 3.)

(g) But as we have seen, vispati generally refers to Agni.  
 In VI, 15, 1, b

visvāsām visām patim rñjase girā

where Agni is called the lord of all the vises and this suggests that people were probably divided into various vis-es. SĀYANA however seems to understand them as all invokers probably not in any group and by sarvāsām, all of them are meant over whom Agni lords over.

(h) with visva the adjective.

(1) In VIII, 6, 4

Sam asya manyāve víso vísvā namanta kṛṣṭayah

Samudrāyeva sūndhavaḥ // (VIII, 6, 4)

visah occurs with Kṛṣṭayah and GRIFFITH renders: "Before his hot displeasure all the peoples, all the men bow down As rivers bow them to the sea," and GELDNER also translates: "Seinem Grimme/...

Grimme neigen sich die Stämme alle Völker, ...."

SĀYANA gives a derivational meaning of visah as visantyaḥ and of visvā kr̥ṣṭayaḥ, sarvāḥ prajāḥ which somehow avoids the problem of having two synonymous words side by side. But there is reason to believe that kr̥ṣṭayaḥ and visah are not synonymous. visah in this instance may be taken as "bands of people" while visvāḥ kr̥ṣṭayaḥ as "all men." - "The bands of people - may all the men bow down or bend themselves down together to his great wrath ..." may be what the poet has wanted to say.

(2) viśo visvā occurs in VIII, 11, 8 and VIII, 43, 21:

purutrā hé sadṛññasi viśo visvā ānuprabhuḥ /  
Samātsu tvā havāmahe //

(i) with Śasvatī

(1) piba sōmam madāya kām indra syenābhrtam sutām /  
tvām hé śasvatīnām pātī rājā viśāmasi // (VIII, 95, 3)

SĀYANA explains śasvatīnām viśām as bahvīnām marud ganānām sarvesām devagananam ca (patih pālayitā svamī bhavasi.)

GRIFFITH: " .... For thou art King and Sovran Lord of all the families of men."

GELDNER: "... du bist der Herr und König über all die vielen Stämme."

(j) Viś in Dual number

Viśau in Accusative Dual number is found in IX, 70, 4, cd

vrātāni pānoamṛtasya cārūna (VII, 74, 1, cd)

SĀYANA explains ubhé nṛcāksā ānupāsyate viśau

to denote both the viśes, human and divine.

GRIFFITH/....

(2) /...

GRIFFITH: "While he is watching over the lovely Amrit's ways,  
looks on both races as Beholder of mankind (Both  
races: Gods and men)

GELDNER also translating visam by "beide Stämme" notes that it  
denotes "Götter und Menschen."

SĀYANA explains how the god looks on both the vis-es  
"manuṣyān abhimata-dānena, devān havispradānena."

- (xi) (a) The Accusative in the Singular number occurs only once in  
RV. in VII, 73, 4, ab:

upa tyā vāhñī gamato viśam no  
rakṣohānā sambhrtā vilūpānī

GRIFFITH: "And these two Priests come nigh unto our people  
united demonslayers, mighty handed."

V. MĀDHAVA and SĀYANA explain "Let those two Asvins carrying  
oblations approach our prajā (viśam) - i.e. The priest (accord-  
ing to SĀYANA.) GELDNER translates: "... mögen zu unserem  
Clane Kommen, ...."

vis however seems to denote not an individual but a collection  
of people, probably as suggested by GRIFFITH.

- (b) The reduplicated form of it, viz. viśam viśam occurs four  
times in RV. and the

(1) ayām vām ahvé 'vase sacīvasū

viśam viśam hī gacchathah (VII, 74, 1, cd)

SĀYANA explains viśam viśam as prajāṃ prajāṃ prati but GRIFFITH  
translates it by "house by house" and GELDNER also by "zu jedem  
Clane."

(2) /...

- (2) visam visam maghavā paryasāyata  
jānānām dhēnā avacākasadvṛṣā / (X, 43, 6, ab)

SĀYANA explains visam visam as sarvān manusyān, GRIFFITH translates it by "to all the tribes of men" and GELDNER also translates "Zu einem Clanen um den anderen."

- (3) éko bahūnām asi manyavīlito  
visam visam yudhāye sam sisādhi (X, 34, 4, ab)

According to SĀYANA visam visam denotes "tām tām asmadvirodhinīm prajāṃ." In GRIFFITH's translation it is "(the spirit of) each clan" and in GELDNER's it is "(mache) jeden Clan (Zum Kampfe scharf.)"

- (4) jānam janam jānyo nāti manyate  
vis a ā kseti visyo visam visam (X, 91, 2, cd)

SĀYANA interprets janahitah so 'gnih sarvam janam, ... na visrjya gacchatityarthah and vidbhyo hitah so 'gnih visah manusyān abhigacchati sarvā visah prajā adhi tisthatīti.

GRIFFITH translates by "Benevolent to men, he scorns no living man, Friend to the tribes of men, he dwells with every tribe." GELDNER translates the second half of the verse by "er haust bei den Clanen bei jedem Clane als der Clangenosse." These instances no doubt give the meaning of vis as a group of people.

- (2) adam naruto asvina mitrah siddantu varuna

(xii) Instrumental form sarvāḥ visā (V, 26, 9)

- (a) vidbhiḥ in X, 28, 3, ab:

devāsa āyan parasūr abibhran  
vānā vṛścanto abhi vidbhirāyan /

may/...



may denote "with the attendants" according to GRIFFITH who "mit" appears to follow LUDWIG understanding this "obscure stanza" referring to the beginning of agriculture, "mit ihren Dienstmannen" according to GELDNER who may have considered this to be an account of the first sacrifice, or "maṇudādiprajābhiḥ" according to SĀYANA who suggests the reference of the Gods' expedition to break open the clouds and to bring out the rain-water. All the interpreters however suggest that vis here stands for "a follower."

(b) The use of visā the Instrumental form in the Singular number can be discussed in this connection.

(1) pró ārata maruto durmadā-iva

dévāsah sārwayā visā //

GRIFFITH: "Onward, ye Maruts, drive like creatures drunk with wine, Ye Gods with all your company."

WILSON following SĀYANA translates: "Go, driving Maruts, whither you will, with all your progeny, like those intoxicated."

Prajayā of SĀYANA is rendered by WILSON as "with all your progeny," but elsewhere SĀYANA seems to have used prajā in the sense of "the subject." GELDNER translates: "Ihr Marut Zoget wie

Bretnenkene los in vollzähligem Clane, ihr Götter. V. MĀDHAVA renders it as Sarvaiḥ anucaraiḥ saha and SKANDA suggests sarwayā svapariçāraka-manusyajātyāsaha.

(2) édam maruto asvīnā mitrah sīdantu varuṇa

devāsah sārwayā visā (V, 26, 9)

Sarwayā visā here is interpreted by V. MĀDHAVA as Sarvaiḥ anucaraiḥ saha, by SĀYANA as svīyena pariñanena sārđham, by GRIFFITH/...

GRIFFITH As "the gods with all their company," by GELDNER as "mit voll zähliger Gemeinde."

(3) té no gopā apācyāsta udaktā itthā nyak

purastāt sārvaṃ viśā (VIII, 28, 3)

Here sarvaṃ viśā is explained by SĀYANA as sarvena anucaravargena saha, by GRIFFITH as "with all the tribe," by GELDNER as "mit ihrem voll ständigen Clane."

The singular number of viśā appears to have the collective sense and as the Maruts are addressed here, "with your full company" seems to be the best meaning of sarvaṃ viśā as suggested by GRIFFITH.

(4) yathā ksāyāma sārvaśrayā viśā

tānnaḥ sārḍhāya dhāsathā svindriyam (I, 111, 2, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Grant to our company this power most excellent, that with a family all heroic we may dwell."

WILSON following SĀYANA translates: "... so that we may live (surrounded) by vigorous descendants; ..."

SKANDA: putraīscopetayā paricāraka-manusyajātyā saha.

GELDNER: "Dass wir mit unserem Stamm aus voll Zähligen Mannen sicher wohnen möget ihr unserer Heerschar doch ja die indragleiche (Kraft) verleihen."

Here GRIFFITH's meaning "family" (in a wide sense) agrees with SKANDASVĀMIN's meaning. GELDNER's meaning "Stamm" may be the same as SĀYANA interprets (race) or as GRIFFITH suggests (family.) viśā in the Singular number however has to be interpreted by a word like "family" or "race" in the collective sense to include the members of the household who live together.

(5) /....

In IX, (5) In one instance VIII, 63, 7 visā is qualified by pāñcajanya:

yāt pāñcajanya viśendre ghōsā āsrksata /  
āstrnādbarhānā vipo-ryō mānasya sā ksayah //

GRIFFITH: "When the Five Tribes with all their men to Indra

(2) have sent out their voice, And when the Priest  
 hath strewn much grass, this is the Friend's own  
 dwelling place." (He admits that the second line  
 is very obscure.)

GELDNER translates the first line: "Als von dem Zum Fünf  
 völkerend gehörigen Stamme die Rufe zu Indra entsandt worden  
 waren, ..."

SĀYANA explaining pāñcajanāh as the four varnas with Nishāda  
 as the fifth, renders pāñcajanya viśā as tatra bhavayā  
prajayā.

Here also visā appears to be a collective noun denoting  
 comprising the people belonging to the pāñcana.

(xiii) Dative form.

(a) visē, the Dative Singular form occurs 8 times in RV.

(1) visē janāya māhi śarma yacchatam  
 occurs twice in I. 93, 8, d and in VII, 82, 1, b and in IX,  
 86, 15, a

GELDNER: "sō asya visē māhi śarma yacchatī, spende dem Sänger

SĀYANA gives a derivational meaning of visē as yāgesu praviśate  
janāya i.e. yajamānāya. GRIFFITH also follows him in I. 93, 8.

GELDNER translates visē by "dem Olane" and janāya by "dem Volk."

In /...

In IX, 86, 15, a, where there is no janāya, SĀYANA still gives the meaning pravesanāya to it. In VII, 82, 1 GRIFFITH translates: "Grant us your strong protection our people and our family for sacrifice." For IX, 86, 15 a his translation is: "He .... bestowed upon his race wide shelter and defence."

Thus (2) agnīr hā vājīnam viśe dādāti viśvā-  
-carṣaṇih (V, 6, 3, ab) "family."

V. MĀDHAVA considers viśe as manusyāya. SĀYANA yajamānāya. GRIFFITH translates: "Agne the god of all mankind, gives verily a steed to man." GELDNER translates viśe by "dem Clan."

(3) sūprīto agnīh sūdhito dāma ā

sā viśe dāti vāryamīyatai (VII, 42, 4, cd)

(4) śacā yādī pitumāntamiva kṣāyam

rātnam dādāti bhārahutaye viśe // (V, 48, 4, cd)

bharahūtaye viśe is explained by SĀYANA as Sangrāme yajñe vā hvāna yuktāya yajamānāya, is translated by GRIFFITH into "... (he gives) the man who calls on him in fight ...", by GELDNER into "(bringt) zum Triumphruf für den Stamm, ...."

(5) śocā śociṣṭha dī dihi viśe

māyo rāsva stotre mahā āsi (VIII, 60, 6, ab)

SĀYANA explains "dīpayāsmān viśe prajāyai stotre mayah sukham dehi - "

GRIFFITH: ".... send bliss unto the folk."

GELDNER: ".... scheine dem Stamme Freude zu, spende dem Sanger ...." Thus GELDNER connects dīdihi with viśe.

(6) pitūr nā putrah krātubhir yatānā ā

pavasva viśe asyā ājītim // (IX, 97, 30, cd)

SĀYANA /....



SĀYANA: "... asyai viśe prajāyāi ajītim aparābhavam ā pavaśva  
ā prāpaya ...."

GRIFFITH: "... grant to this family success and safety."

GELDNER: "... läutere du diesen Clane Schutz vor Gewalttat

GELDNER: "... zu! "

Thus in all these instances the word viśe seems to stand for "to (our) band" which band may be similar to "clan" or "family."

(b) The reduplicated viśe viśe occurs 5 times.

(1) In I, 27, 10

jārābodha tādviddhi viśe-viśe yajñiyāya /

stōmam rudrāya dṛśīkam //

V. MĀDHAVA explains viśe viśe as manuśyasya, SĀYANA explains it as "he stutyā bodhamānāgne tattad-yajamāna-rūpa-  
prajānugrahārtham .... yajñasambandhyanuṣṭhāna siddhyartham  
devayajanam pravīṣa /

GRIFFITH: "Help thou who knowest lauds, this work, this eulogy  
 to Rudra, him Adorable in every house."

GELDNER: "... der für jeden Clan verehrungs - würdig ist!"

YĀSKA ('Nirukta' X, 8) "... manuśyasya manuśyasya yajanāya stōmam  
rudrāya .. darsanīyam."

which is translated by SARUP - "O thou who art skilled in praise  
 be active for the worship of every man a beautiful hymn for  
 Rudra."

(2) yām āpnavāno bhṛgavo virurucur

vāneṣu citrām vibhvaṁ viśe-viśe (IV, 7, 1, cd)

SĀYANA explains viśe viśe as "vīpsayā sarvajanavyāptir grhyate /  
sarvasyā viśaḥ prajāyāḥ." V. MĀDHAVA renders "manuśyāya manuśyāya"

MAHĪDHARA /...

MAHĪDHARA (commentary to VS (Mā) III, 15) explains "yajamāna-  
-ūpāya tasmai tasmai manusyāya tadupakārāya."

GRIFFITH: "Whom Apnavāna and the Bhrigus caused to shine bright-  
coloured in the wood, spreading from home to home."

GELDNER: ".... der für jeden Clan."

(3) prātaryāvānam vibhvaṃ viśé viśé

vāstor vāstor vāhamānam dhiyā śāmi (X, 40, 1, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Starting at daybreak, visiting each morning every  
house borne hitherward through prayer unto the  
sacrifice."

GELDNER: "den in der Frühe Kommenden de für jeden Clan zu  
haben ist, ...."

SĀYANA explains "... prātaḥkāle gantāram vyāpiman viśé viśé  
sarvesu manusyesu vāstorvāstoh anvaham vāhamānam  
dhanam prāpayantam ...."

(4) ā jabhruḥ Ketumāyāvo bhr̥gavanam viśé-viśé //

(IV, 7, 4, cd)

GRIFFITH: "The ruler over all mankind, moving like Bhr̥gū in  
each home."

GELDNER: "ihn den Bhr̥gugenossen Brachten die Ayusöhne als  
Wahrzeichen zu jedem Clane."

SĀYANA explains viśé viśé as "sarvasyai prajāyai," and V.MĀDHAVA  
as "manusyāya manusyāya."

(5) tvāmagne puru rūpo viśé viśé

vāyo dadhāsi pratnāthā puruṣtuta (V, 8, 5, ab)

GRIFFITH: "Thou Agni, multifiform God who are lauded much! givest  
in every house, subsistence as of old."

GELDNER: /....

GELDNER: "... verleiht jedem Clane Lebenskraft ...."

V. MĀDHAVA explains visē visē as manuṣyāya and SĀYANA explains it as sarvasmai vajamānāya (annam prayacchasi.)

In all these occurrences visē visē seems to be "for every vis" which may be "for every band of people" rather than "for every man" as given by the Indian scholiasts. GRIFFITH's rendering "in each home" is not suitable in all occurrences.

be "of the group of people" but it may not be exactly "of the

(xiv) Genitive form. visah refers to Indra here.

(a) visah in the Genitive Singular occurs six times in RV.

(1) In bhāvā pāyur viso asyā adabdhah (IV, 4, 3, b) the adjective asyā specifies the vis which after all has a collective sense, viz. "of this group of ours."

(2) In VI, 15, 14, ab - Agni is addressed: agne yād adyā visó adhvarasya hotah

(3) pāvakaśoce vēstvam hí yajvā /

and V. MĀDHAVA explains "yād adyā ... manuṣyasya yajñasya kartavyam jānāsi tatastvam eva yajvā nājño manuṣyah" - SĀYANA explains visah as manuṣyasya vajamānasya and yajvā as devānām yaṣṭā (bhavasi tasmāt tvam.) In any case visah in the

Singular number may have been used here in the sense of "of the human being." GELDNER of course translates it as "Da du heute (der Opferpriester) des Stammes (zu sein) be<sup>e</sup>g<sup>e</sup>rst ...."

but the sense "des Stammes" is not very convincing. GRIFFITH translates viso adhvarasya into "from the man's rite."

(GRASSMANN considers this example as Abl. Sg. GELDNER however mentions the case to be Genitive.)

(3) /...

(3) In X, 152, 2, ab, visāḥ (Gen. Sg.) is found in connection with pati:

svastidā visāspatir vrtrahā vimrdhó vaśī /

GRIFFITH translates visāspatir by "Lord of the Clan," like GELDNER (der Clan herr) and SĀYANA explains it as sarvasyāḥ prajāyāḥ pālayitā. The Singular number of the word suggests that the word has been used in a Collective sense and it may be "of the group of people" but it may not be exactly "of the clan." visāspati refers to Indra here.

(4) visāspate in X, 141, 1 is used to address Agni, where GRIFFITH translates it by "Master of the House" although GELDNER sticks to his rendering "Clanherr," and SĀYANA explains it as "yajamānalakṣaṇasyāḥ prajāyāḥ pālayitāḥ", but in this one has to conceive by vis a collective sense of all (yajamānas and others) who are benefited by the Agni-worship.

(5) visāḥ (Gen. Sg.) is connected with atithi (in two instances.) In V, 3, 5, cd visāśca yasyā atithir bhavāsi where according to SĀYANA visāḥ is prajāyā rtvigrūpāyāḥ and atithiḥ is atithivat pūjyāḥ. GRIFFITH and GELDNER considering atithi as "guest/Gast" translate visāḥ by "house" and by "Clanes" respectively.

(6) In V, 18, 1, ab again

prātar agniḥ purupriyo visāḥ stavetātithiḥ

while GRIFFITH and GELDNER translate the words similarly, SĀYANA explains visāḥ as yajamānasya.

(b) The reduplicated form viso-visāḥ is also found once connected with atithi

(1) /...



(1) in VIII, 74, 1, ab

visó visó vo átithim vājayāntah purupriyam

where the other priests being called vājayāntah are said to glorify Agni who is adorable like atithi (according to SĀYANA) among all (sarvasyāh prajāyāh) - "the darling guest in every home" (according to GRIFFITH) - "Gast einer jeden Niederlassung" (according to GELDNER.)

(2) Another use of visó-visāh is found in VI, 49, 2, ab

visó visa ídyam adhvarésu-

ádrptakratum aratim yuvatyoh /

divāh sísum sāhasah sūnum agnim

yajñasya ketum arusām jajadhyai //

GRIFFITH: "Him, to be praised at each tribe's Sacrifices, the two young Matrons' soberminded Herald The Son of Strength, the child of Heaven, the signal of Sacrifice, red Agni I worship."

visó visāh is rendered sarvasya by V. MĀDHAVA and sarvasyāh prajāyāh by SĀYANA and "des Stammes" by GELDNER. But visó visāh in this instance could also be interpreted in the same way as in the last instance.

(c) atithi is very often used with visām also. into "Go never to

In II, 4, 1, ab

huvé vah sudyótmanam suvrktim

visām agnim átithim suprayāsam /

where visām ... átithim is explained by SĀYANA as yaja-mānānām atithevat sadā pūjyam - translated by GRIFFITH by "the guest of men," by GELDNER by "Gast der Glane."

In /...

In III, 2, 2, d ... dulbho visām atithirvibhāvasuh with the same interpretations of SĀYANA and the Western scholars.

In V, 1, 9, d priyō visām atithir mānuṣīnām.

GRIFFITH: "Pajras, who with your vains with your great Kinsman,

- (xv) (a) Vesa is found thrice occurring in RV. as vesasya in IV, 3, 13 and as vesam in V, 85, 7 and in X, 49, 5. But the last has been explained by SĀYANA and translated by GRIFFITH as the name.<sup>1</sup>

(1) vesam in V, 85, 7, cd:

vesām vā nityam varunāraṇam vā yātsīm āgascakrinā sīsrathastat //

is translated as neighbour ("The neighbour ever with us or a stranger, O Varuna, remove from us the trespass." - GRIFFITH, "... oder einem Insassen - sei es einem Angehörigen oder Fremden - vigend eine Unrecht getan haben, so nimm das (von uns), O Varuna!" - GELDNER,) SĀYANA explains it as "nikātanikitamavartinam" V. MĀDHAVA as "Samīpagrhasṭhah." based on the difference of their

(2) Vesasya in IV, 3, 13, ab:

(2) mā kasya yaksam sadamidḥhuró gā mā vesasya praminato māpeh /

is explained by SĀYANA as "(himsakasya) prātivesasya (yainām mā gaccha)!" The line is translated by GRIFFITH into "Go never to the feast of one who harms us, the treacherous neighbour or unworthy Kinsman," by GELDNER "Geh nicht zu der Heimlich Keit vigend eines unehrlichen, eines täuschenden Insassen oder Freundes."

<sup>1</sup> GELDNER however does not think so. He notes that in Mān Sr. S I, 3, 5, 14 and Āp Śr. S III, 10, 2 veśa occurs opposed to sajāta ("dem Stammesgenossen oder Landsmann.")

<sup>1</sup> vesā is also found in VII, 18, 17. But this is the Instrumental Singular of yaśi meaning "a needle."

(b) (1) visyā iva vrāh occurring in I, 126, 5, cd:  
subāndhavo ye visyā-iva vrā  
anasvantah śrava aisanta pajrāh

GRIFFITH: "Pajras, who with your wains with your great Kinsman,  
 like troops of subjects have been fain for glory."

GELDNER: "... die auf Karren wie die Glandirnen fahrend den  
 Ruhm für sich begehrten, die Pajras."

HILLEBRANDT: "... Treffliche Genossen sind die Pajras die wie  
 (2) Trupps eines Stammes mit Lastwagen auf Ruhn  
 ausziehen."

SĀYANA explains: "... visah prajāh /tatra bhavā visyāh vriyanta  
iti vrāh vrātāh visām vrātā yathā parasparam  
anurāgavantah tathā ete 'pityarthah."

On the whole visyā has been derived similarly by all the inter-  
 preters (GELDNER's meaning is not very convincing) but the  
 difference of their meanings is based on the difference of their  
 interpretations of vis.

(2) visya occurs in another verse (X, 91, 2, cd)

jānam janam jānyo nātimanyate  
visa ā kseti visyo visam-visam //

It is said about Agni who is benevolent to men (visya) (SĀYANA,  
 GRIFFITH.)

(c) vesya occurs twice, once in IV, 26, 3 as vesyam and once more  
 in VI, 61, 14 as vesyā.<sup>1</sup>

(xvi) (a) (1) vesyam in IV, 26, 3, cd

śatatanam vesyam sarvātātā

divodāsam atithigvām yādāvam

<sup>1</sup> vesyā is also found in VII, 18, 17. But this is the Instrumental  
 Singular of vesī meaning "a needle."

is explained by SĀYANA as "pur, where one enters." According to him it is said that the hundredth fort of Śambara was destroyed, while in the sacrifice Divodāsa Atithigva was rescued. GRIFFITH follows SĀYANA but GELDNER translates:

(5) Zur Voll Ständig Keit als Hundertsten den Insassen  
als ich dem Divodāsa Atithigva beistand."

He also thinks that the word may stand for "die Insassen-schaft" according to VI, 61, 14.

(2) veśyā in VI, 61, 14, cd,  
jusāsva nah sakhyā veśyā ca  
mā tvāt mētrānyā ranāni ganma //

where Sarasvati the river is addressed, is explained by SĀYANA as pravesanāni. The line is translated by GRIFFITH into:

"Gladly accept our friendship and obedience, let us not go from thee to distant countries."

GELDNER translates: "Freu dich unserer Freundschaft und unsrer Clangenossenschaft ...." and notes "Die Sarasvatī heisst MS. 1, p. 51, 7 veśyāmanī und veśa bhagīnā."

HILLEBRANDT gives the meaning of veśyā as "Gaugemeinschaft."

(It can however be translated thus:

"Do serve us with friendship and neighbourly feeling

(xiv) May not we get our lands away (or uninhabitable from you.)

(a) Among all these instances in RV. only one has been quoted

(xvi) (a) Vaisya occurs once which has been considered decidedly late in RV. in X, 90, 12 where the origin of the four castes from Purusa is described.



brāhmaṇo'sya mukhamāsīd

bāhū rājanya kṛtāh /

ūrū tādasya yadvāisyah

padbhyām sūdró ajāyata /

(b) visāh occurring in VIII, 35, 13 seems to denote the people of the Vaisya class:

dhenūr jinvatam utā jinvatam víso /

hatam ráksāmsi sēdhatamāmīvāh //

In verse 16 of the same hymn, the first line contains brāhma jinvatam utā jinvatam dhīgo and in verse 17, the first line contains:

ksatram jinvatam utā jinvatam nr̥n

Here only we find the reference of the three classes of people.

In VIII, 37, 1 and 7 there is the reference to the functions of the Brahmin and of the Ksatriya also.

From this instance, however, we find that probably the Vaisyas were the classes of vises the ordinary people and were the lords of cattle. Brahmins were the masters dhī intelligence, Knowledge and Ksatriyas were the masters of nr̥-s the heroic men, armies. visāh is rendered here by SĀYANA as vaiśyān.

(xiv) There are some verses where jana and vis occur closely, the study of which is significant for determining the nature of the two.

(a) Among all these instances in RV. only one has been quoted by ZIMMER (AL. 159-60) and that is II, 26, 3.

(1) Sā ijjanena sā visā sā janmanā saputrair vājam

bharate dhānā nr̥bhih

devānām yah pitāramāvivāsati śraddhāmanā haviśā

brāhmanas patim

"Wer den Vater der Götter für sich zu gewinnen sucht, gläubigen Sinnes durch opfer Brahmanaspati, der erlangt Beute und Reichthum durch die Männer: durch Stamm (janena), durch Gau (viṣā), durch Verwandschaft (janmanā) durch Familie (putraih)."  
He draws a conclusion from this that the Vedic people was divided into "cantons" (vis), "Cantons" into "joint families" or "clans" or "village communities" (grāma, vrjana) and these again into "single families."  
"Vedic Index" doubts whether this precise division of the people can be pressed, it opines that the division of the jana into several vis may be regarded as probable for it is supported by the evidence of another passage of the RV. viz. X, 84, 4 (discussed already at p. 380) which mentions the Vis as a unit of the fighting men and shows that relationship was deemed a good principle of military arrangement.

Rv. II, 26, 3 is translated by GRIFFITH thus: "He with his folk, his house, his family, his sons, gains booty for himself and with the heroes, wealth, / Who with oblation and a true believing heart serves Brahmanaspati the Father of the Gods."

GELDNER: "Der trägt mit seinem Volke, der mit seinem Stamme, der mit seinem Geschlecht, der mit seinen Söhnen den Sieg, mit einen Mannen die Beute davon," etc.

LUDWIG: "mit seinen leuten, seinem Stamme, seinen geschlechte seinen Söhnen gewinnt er beute, besitz mit den helden;" etc.

vājam bharate is explained by SĀYANA in this passage as annam bibharti sambharati vā / We find in II, 24, 9 from a hymn to the same Brahmanaspati vājam bharate is explained by SĀYANA as annam bibharti vrstidvārā posayati. Here also if vājam bharate becomes /...

becomes annam posayati, there is no question of getting booties in the war. SĀYANA explains nrbhih dhanā as netrbhiranyaih pancārakaih dhanāni bibharti sampādayati vā. But generally nrbhih in RV. denotes "by heroic men." There are other instances as we have seen where vis is explained in a military context. But that does not lead us to a conclusive statement that vis was a regimental section of men. Far from it, vis is much more used in the religious contexts. Besides, in the passage in question (viz. II, 26, 3) there may not be the military context in the former half of the first line vājam bharate may be simply increases the wealth by his putra parijanas (viz. the people related and unrelated under his control.

(b) In his treatment of "jana et apparentes" (EVR. 34 ff) RENOUE remarks:

"Suit-il de là que jana ait atteint une acception positivement tribale? Le voisinage du mot vis <clan> pourrait l'indiquer, jana étant un terme plus comprehensif I, 93, 8; VI, 21, 4; X, 91, 2 passages d'ailleurs asser pen instructifs."

(1) tasya vratam raksatam patamamhaso

visé janāya mahi śarma yacchatam // (2nd half of I, 93, 8)

where visé is explained by SĀYANA as pravisate janāya, i.e. yajamānāya. GRIFFITH: "Protect his Sacrifice, preserve him from distress, grant to the sacrificer great felicity."

GELDNER: "Schützt (ihn) vor Not, geivähnet dem Clane, dem Volk euren mächtigen Schutz."

GRIFFITH seems to agree with SĀYANA somehow but GELDNER suggests that/...

that the prayer is for Viś (clan) and jana (tribe), which is not quite unlikely.

(2) yastā cakāra sā kuha svidīndrah kām ā janam carati

kāsu vikṣu /

kaste yajñō manaso sāmvarāya kō arka indra katamāh

sā hōta // (VI, 21, 4)

According to SĀYANA the first half means this is an enquiry as to where Indra lives, in which region (janam kam api desam) he moves and with (or in) which vis-es he stays.

GRIFFITH: "And he who did these things where is that Indra?

among what tribes? what people doth he visit?"

SĀYANA's meaning of jana as desa is less satisfactory. In RV.

ā with the accusative may have the sense of the Locative, so here ā janam is equivalent to jane in the sense of janamadye while vis here may mean either 'people' or 'residence.'

(3) janam janam janyo nātimanyate viśa ākṣeti viśyo

viśam viśam (X, 91, 2, cd)

GRIFFITH: "Benevolent to men, he scorns no living man: Friend

to the tribes of men he dwells with every tribe."

GELDNER: "Jedweden Menschen verachtet der Menschen Freundliche

nicht; er haust bei den Clänen, bei jedem Clane als

der Clangenosse."

SĀYANA explains janya as janahita and viśya also as vidbhyo

hitah. As this Agni does not ignore all men (janam janam i.e.

sarvam janam) he goes towards (ākṣeti abhigacchati) men (viśah

i.e. manusyān), what more, he lives amongst all men (viśo viśah

sarvāh prajāh adhitisthatīti śesah.)

GELDNER /...



GELDNER remarks "jānyah and viśyah entsprechen sich .... etc. and translates viśya as "a clan-mate" as janya is according to him, "der Brautführer oder überhaupt der Vertrauens-mann, vgl 2, 6, 7; 8, 23, 8; 10, 27, 12; 22, 1" (note 2 c in 10, 68 hymn.) viśya would then be friend to vis which is not far away from SĀYANA's explanation.

(c) The other examples where the two vis and jana occur together are given below.

(1) indrā varunā yuṣam adhvarāya no

viśe jānāya māhi śarma yacchatam /

(I, 93, 8, cd) and (VII, 82, 1, ab)

where viśe is explained by SĀYANA as nivesayitre paricārakāya and jānāya as putrapautrādi laksanāya<sup>1</sup> (GRIFFITH: "Grant us your strong protection, Indra Varuna, our people, and our family.") (GELDNER: "Indra und Varuna! Gewähret für unser Opfer dem clan und Volke euren grossen Schirm!")

(2) śam yaddhānanta manyūḥir jānāsah

śūrā yāvṛśvōsadhīsu vikṣū / (VII, 56, 22, ab)

SĀYANA explains śūrāh jānāsah as vikrāntāh jānāh who go together with fury among the great osadhis and viśes, i.e. the people to be conquered. Thus jana may have the sense of a military horde, according to SĀYANA and vis is the people who are to be conquered. GRIFFITH translates: "What time the men in fury rush together

for running streams for pastures, and for houses."

(3) viśam-viśam maghāvā paryasāyata

jānānām dhēnā avocākaśad vṛṣā / (X, 43, 6, ab)

<sup>1</sup> But SĀYANA's explanation appears to be despairingly reckless. This may as well be " .... grant us the people as a whole and the person (collectively and individually) your protection ...." (their) people."

GRIFFITH: "Maghavan came by turns to all the tribes of men:

different: the Steer took notice of the people's songs of  
people. praise."

GELDNER: "Zu einem Clan un den anderen Kommt der Gabenreiche  
herum auf die Lippen (Reden) der Leute achtend, der  
Bulle."

(VIII, 63, 7)

SĀYANA explains: kāmanām varṣitā dhanavān indrah viśam viśam have  
sarvān manusyān parīsete / Kimca janānan bath strewn  
stotrjanānām stutēh abhipāsyati / own dwelling place."

GELDNER (4) imā satāni venyāsyā vājino yēna janā ubhāye bhunjātē  
Rufe zu Indra an viśah (II, 24, 10, cd) "

SĀYANA explains ubhāye janāh as both the Stots and the yajamānas  
of gods and men. (V. MĀDHAVA gives only the latter meaning)  
and avoids the difficulty of explaining viśah by suggesting the  
derivational meaning nivistāh santah while V. MĀDHAVA omits the  
word to explain. sacrificer also.

GRIFFITH: "These are the boons of him the strong who should be  
(xvi) Thus exult loved, whereby both the classes and the people have  
rings "house," "delight." "settlement" etc. are suggested by the

Europ GELDNER: "dicse Gewinne ... von dem beiderlei Geschlechter,  
this sense the P (alle) Stämme Nutzenhaben."<sup>1</sup> and have been considered

at first) we (5) In VI, 49, 15, already discussed we find viśa ādevīr  
sense in the second line and janāntsprdho adevīr in the first and it  
local is prayed for that the latter i.e. the challenging godless men  
people may be overpowered and the former viz. the peoples to whom the  
viśas Gods are gracious may be met. Here jana and viś may have been  
of in used /... of lives or is prayed for living in the viś-as, as

<sup>1</sup> This may also be explained "... by which these two viz. the sacri-  
ficer(s) and the priests may enjoy as well as all (their) people."

Hotr (I, 60, 4; IV, 6, 2; VIII, 23, 10; X, 1, 4; X, 7, 5; etc.) - used synonymously, the denotation of the two may still be in or among the vises (VIII, 39, 4) among the human vises different: the former may be individual and the latter the (I, 148, 1; III, 5, 3; II, 4, 3; IV, 6, 7; IV, 6, 8; etc.) Agni people.

shining bright (I, 66, 3) is praised among the vis-es (I, 66, 2.)

(6) yāt pāñcajanya viśendre ghoṣā āskṛṣata  
He is called vispati Hotr (I, 26, 7; I, 60, 2) vispati and Kavi of the vises (III, 2, 10; VIII, 24, 26) atithi (honourable like a

(VIII, 63, 7)

guest) (III, 3, 3; V, 1, 9.) He is the vispati of the vises in

GRIFFITH: "When the five tribes with all their men to Indra have the house (VII, 7, 4) and is dressed in the house as a vispati by the vises.

much grass, this is the Friend's own dwelling place."

All these instances and many more are found in religious contexts where vis seems to denote a group of people performing religious rites together (i and n and vii). But there is also a Rufe zu Indra entsandt worden waren, ..."

SĀYANA explains Pañcajana as usual as the four varṇas with number of instances where the vises are military and they sometimes Misādas and the first line as "... tatra bhavayā viśā prajāyā seek the protection and grace of Indra (i, p and ix). Not only indre stutayah srijante." In any case viś here appears to Agni, the Maruts, Indra, Mitra and Varuna, Soma, and Yama as denote a group of people firm by pañcajana - may be the referred to in (vi, a - f.) In addressing a hymn to the Visvadevas priests and the sacrificer also.

(vi, g) a god is called vispati. The adjective visvā, asvatī

also seem to indicate the whole or all groups (x). The Instru- (xvi) Thus examining the instances of vis in RV. for which the mean- mental Singular and plural also appear to denote the group-sense :ings "house," "dwelling," "settlement" etc. are suggested by the of vis (xii.) But again (in viii) we have seen vis stands for European scholars, (the locative forms are mostly considered to have various kinds of vis. Besides these and the examples in (v) where this sense the Plural of which are numerous, and have been considered vis opposed to rajan denotes the subjects of the King, there are a at first) we have seen that there is no unanimity in ascribing this few examples in (iii) and (iv) and seem to indicate either tribe or sense and can be justified with the meaning "the people" etc. The plan.

Locative Singular forms also seem to denote "in or amidst a group of people." Agni is called the most delighting hotr in the vis, a

vispati in the human vis. (ii) also (i, b -f) In a large number translated by GRIFFITH and GELDNER both into "people" "folk" "tribe" of instances Agni lives or is prayed for living in the vis-es, as

Hotrings are given "houses" and "Ansiedelungen."

Hotr (I, 60, 4; IV, 6, 2; VIII, 23, 10; X, 1, 4; X, 7, 5; etc.) - in or among the vaiṇiṇya viśes (VIII, 39, 4) among the human viśes (I, 148, 1; III, 5, 3; II, 4, 3; IV, 6, 7; IV, 6, 8; etc.) Agni shining bright (I, 66, 3) is praised among the viś-es (I, 66, 2.) He is called viśpati Hotr (I, 26, 7; I, 60, 2) viśpati and Kavi of the viśes (III, 2, 10; VIII, 44, 26) atithi (honourable like a guest) (III, 3, 8; V, 1, 9.) He is the viśpati of the viśes in the house (VII, 7, 4) and is dressed in the house as a viśpati by the Purus etc., in III (c) of Vasistha (III, 2) and the pronominal

adjectives also define the viś to denote either a particular tribe or a clan. But we cannot be sure whether the word viś stands for "a tribe" or "a clan" specifically, due to the absence of the other evidences on the point.

All these instances and many more are found in religious contexts where viś seems to denote a group of people performing religious rites together (i and n and vii). But there is also a number of instances where the viśes are military and they sometimes seek the protection and grace of Indra (i, p and ix). Not only Agni, the Maruts, Indra, Mitra and Varuna, Soma, and Yama as referred to in (vi, a - f.) In addressing a hymn to the Visvedevas (vi, g) a god is called viśpati. The adjective viśvā, śasvatī also seem to indicate the whole or all groups (x). The Instrumental Singular and plural also appear to denote the group-sense of viś (xii.) But again (in viii) we have seen viś stands for various kinds of men. Besides these and the examples in (v) where viś opposed to rājan denotes the subjects of the King, there are a few examples in (iii) and (iv) and seem to indicate either tribe or clan. Sinivālī is also referred to by the word (II, 32, 7.) There

<sup>1</sup> The examples cited in 'Vedic Index' for which the sense of "settlement" or "dwelling" is said to be adequate and probable are found translated by GRIFFITH and GELDNER both into "people" "folk" "tribe" and "clan" "Stämme" except in VII, 56, 22 and VII, 61, 3 where the meanings are given "houses" and "Ansiedelungen."



In iv, a, b and c the dāsī vis, Kṛṣṇā vis and adevī vis of the earlier books denote the Dāsa tribe, the black skinned aboriginals, and the non-god worshipping tribes. In the later books also the āryā vis denotes the Aryans (d) and Sumitrā vis appears to signify a tribe of that name (e, 1). The vis of the Angirases (iv, e, 3), the vis of the Trtsus (iv, e, 2) vis of Nahuṣa (iv, f) and the vis of Trnaskanda and Kutsa may be a clan or a tribe. The vis of the Pūrus etc., in iii (c) of Vasistha (iii, a) and the pronominal adjectives also define the vis to denote either a particular tribe or a clan. But we cannot be sure whether the word vis stands for "a tribe" or "a clan" specifically, due to the absence of the other evidences on the point.

The meaning "house" or "settlement" conceived as the primary meaning of the word by the European scholars on the basis of its derivation from verb vis, can be justified in certain instances. But in all probability if it actually had been the meaning originally it was already changed at the time of RV., for we find the word occurring with grha (VI, 48, 8), dama (II, 1, 8; III, 2, 10) duroṇa (VII, 7, 4.) The word vispati which is generally used to denote some god is in VII, 55, 5 probably used for 'a man in charge of protecting the vis', which may be the group of persons living together in a house. The arani is called vispatnī (III, 29, 1) probably because by kindling the household fire it protects the people of the vis. Sinivālī is also referred to by the word (II, 32, 7.) There are different senses of grouping developed, besides this group of people in a common dwelling. The group in a common line of descent seems to <sup>be</sup> have developed quite in the early stage (viz. the vis of Vasistha /...

B. Vis in AV.

Vasiṣṭha - VIII, 33, 10; viśes of the Trtsus - VII, 33, 6)

besides viśes of the Pūrus - I, 36, 1 ( in the later book.)

The group of men which is otherwise known as "a tribe" is

also denoted by viś in the early RV. books, viz. dāsi, kṛsnā

and adevī (iv - a, b, c) and in the later books also āryā

and sumitrā (iv -d, e.) The viśes of Trnaskanda and Kutsa

(iv -f 3, 4) belonging to the later period might have been

used for the people of the king. The meaning "subject" of "a

king" (rājan) is derived from the sense of the group belonging

to a king i.e. following the rule of a king. In the earlier

book of RV. The gods are mentioned rājan of the viśes. "The

fighting men" may also have been derived from the meaning

"group of people subordinate to one ".

AV. (Sam) IX, 11, 2; RV. III, 34, 2; AV. (Sam) IV, 5, 6  
and (Pal) IV, 6, 6; RV. VII, 35, 5; AV. (Sam) IX, 9, 1 and  
(Pal) XVI, 66, 1; RV. I, 164, 1; AV. (Sam) XI, 101, 2;  
RV. I, 12, 2; AV. (Sam) VIII, 3, 10 and (Pal) XVI 6, 10;  
RV. I, 97, 10; AV. (Sam) XI, 6, 3; RV. III, 40, 3;  
AV. (Sam) VII, 46, 2 and (Pal) XX, 10, 11; RV. III, 32, 7;  
AV. (Pal) II, 30, 3; RV. I, 15, 2 and AV. (Pal) XII, 1, 6;  
RV. I, 96, 15)

It is noticeable that of these 21 instances, 7 only belong to the earlier books of the RV., the rest occurring in the later books especially of the hymn X, 173, the subject of which is the benediction of a newly consecrated king.

(a) Not only in the repeated verses, in many of the newly used instances /...

B. Vis in Av. of AV. also vis is found to occur with the meaning

"the people" in respect of the rājan.

(i) vis occurs in some 50 new occurrences in Av. (Pai and Śau) only, besides in 21 repeated RV. verses (with or without variants.)

(AV. (Śau) IV, 32, 2 and (Pai) IV, 32, 2: RV. X, 83, a;  
 AV. (Śau) VI, 87, 1 and (Pai) XIX, 6, 5; RV. X, 173, 1;  
 AV. (Śau) VII, 94, 1 and (Pai) III, 1, 8 and XIX, 6, 4;  
 RV. X, 173, 6; AV. (Śau) XIII, 2, 20 and XX, 47, 17:  
 RV. I, 50, 5; AV (Śau) XVIII, 1, 21; RV. X, 11, 4;  
 SV. (Śau) XX, 73, 3; RV. VII, 31, 10; AV (Śau) XX, 107, 1;  
 RV. VIII, 6, 4; AV. (Śau) XX, 137, 9; RV. VIII, 96, 15;  
 AV. (Śau) I, 21, 1 and (Pai) II, 88, 4; RV. X, 173, 6;  
 AV. (Śau) VI, 83, 1 and (Pai) XIX, 6, 4; RV. X, 173, 4;  
 AV (Śau) VII, 52, 2 and (Pai) XIX, 9, 9; RV. I, 134, 6;  
 AV. (Śau) XX, 11, 2; RV. III, 34, 2; AV. (Śau) IV, 5, 6  
 and (Pai) IV, 6, 6; RV. VII, 55, 5; AV. (Śau) IX, 9, 1 and  
 (Pai) XVI, 66, 1; RV. I, 164, 1; AV. (Śau) XX, 101, 2:  
 RV. I, 12, 2; AV. (Śau) VIII, 3, 10 and (Pai) XVI 6, 10:  
 RV. X, 87, 10; AV. (Śau) XX, 6, 3: RV. III, 40, 3;  
 AV. (Śau) VII, 46, 2 and (Pai) XX, 10, 11: RV. II, 32, 7;  
 AV. IPai) II, 30, 3: RV. X, 15, 2 and A<sup>v</sup>. (Pai) XII, 1, 6:  
 RV. I, 96, 15)

It is noticeable that of these 21 instances, 7 only belong to the earlier books of the RV., the rest occurring in the later books of especially of the hymn X, 173, the subject of which is the benediction of a newly consecrated king.

(a) Not only in the repeated verses, in many of the newly used instances /...

instances of AV. also vis is found to occur with the meaning "the people" in respect of the rājan.

(1) In AV. (Śau) IV, 8, 4, visastvā sarvā vāchantu only, of RV, X, 173, 1 occurs:-

vyāghró ādhi vaiyāghre vikramasva díso mahīh /  
visastvā sárva vāchantu āpo divyāh páyasvatīh //

where visah is evidently for "the people who wishes one for their king." BLOOMFIELD's rendering "clans" for visah is not suitable.

(2) In AV. (Śau) III, 4, 2, (PAi III, 1, 2, ab:

tvām viśo vṛnatām rājyāya  
tvāmimāh pradīśah pañca devīh /

visah has evidently the same use as above, but GRIFFITH instead of "the people" translates visah by "tribesmen" which is not suitable. Besides the verb vṛ is rendered by him as "to elect" which has led the historians to infer the system of election of the King by the people in the Vedic period for which inference the word helps very little, because the verb may mean simply "choose" (BLOOMFIELD, WHITNEY) if not "honour" or welcome (sambhaj) (SĀYANA.) In RV. X, 124, 8 (c):

tā īm viśo ná rājānam vṛnānā

the same meanings of vis and vṛ are found.

(3) In AV. (Śau) IV, 22, 7

Simhāpratīko viśo addhi sárva  
vyāghrápratīko'va bādhasva sátrūn /  
ekavṛsā índrasakhā jigīvāni  
chatrūyatām ā khidā bhójanāni //

"Of /...



"Of lion aspect, do thou devour all the clans" - translates WHITNEY, and GRIFFITH renders: "Consume, with lion aspect, all their hamlets, with tiger aspect, drive away the foemen, Sole lord and leader and allied with Indra, seize, conquer thine enemies' possessions." BLOOMFIELD however translates visah by "(their) people." ZIMMER translates it by "alle ihre (der Feinde) Gaeue." SĀYANA explains the line thus: "Simha-sarārah simhatulyaparākramah san ājñamātreṇa sarvā visah svarāstrasthāḥ prajāḥ bhukṣva / vyāghravad ākrāmya paryantasthān satrūn apabādhasva / ..."

visah here may be the people at the King's control the subjects as opposed to those who are hostile. The King's attitude towards the former will be like a lion and to the latter like a tiger. The majestic lording over of the lion might have been suggested towards the King's subjects.

(4) AV. (Śau) III, 4, 6

indrendra manusyāḥ pārehi sam  
hyājñāsthā varunaiḥ samvidānāḥ /  
sā tvāyam ahvatsvé sadhasthe  
sa devān yaksat sau kalpayād visah //

This is said about the King who left his kingdom that he may return to it, worship the gods and "arrange" (WHITNEY) or "manage" (BLOOMFIELD) "the people" ("sa eva rājā prajāḥ svasva vyāpāresu niyukṭam." - SĀYANA) GRIFFITH's translation - "guide the clansmen" is not satisfactory.

(5) In AV. (Śau) III, 3, 3; (Pai II, 74, 3, it has been said about the King who left his kingdom that he may be called by/...

by Varuṇa from the waters, by Soma from the hills and by Indra from the visés (SĀYANA).....

īndrastvā (yam (Pai) ) hvayatu (/hvayati (Pai)  
Śyenó bhūtvā vīśā ā patemāh // (cd) vidbhya ābhyāh

But GRIFFITH: "Let Indracall thee hither to these people. Fly hither to these people as a falcon."

WHITNEY: "Let Indra call thee for these subjects, becoming a falcon, fly unto these/subjects."

BLOOMFIELD: "Indra shall cite thee to these clans! Turn into an eagle and fly to these clans."

Here however obviously vīśah stands for the prajāś (Subjects) of a King - "the people."

(6) Further in Av. (Śau) VI, 98, 2, (Pai) XIX, 12, 14, cd:

tvām dāivīr vīśā imā virājā yusmat kṣatram

ajāram te astu //

where Indra is glorified - "devasambandhinīh imāh prajāh tvām īśisva" (SĀYANA), - "Of these celestial tribes be thou the sovereign: long-lasting be thy sway and undecaying" - GRIFFITH. WHITNEY translates vīśah by "over these folk." With virāja however the sense of "the subject" is implied.

(7) In AV. (Śau) IV, 22, 1; (Pai) III, 21, 1 a charm to secure the superiority of a newly consecrated King is said: (ab)

"imāindra vardhaya Kṣatriyam ma

imām vīśām ekavṛśam kṛṇu tvam /...." 1

SĀYANA seems to have read vṛśām ekavṛśam in the sense of

"mukhyasektāram, asahāyasūram." GRIFFITH: "Exalt and strengthen this my Prince, O Indra, Make him sole lord and leader of the people."

WHITNEY:/...

<sup>1</sup> In verse 5 of the same hymn (c), yastvā karadekavṛśam janānām, seems to have said the same thing, whereby we find that there is probably little difference between vīś and jana.

WHITNEY: "Increase, O Indra, this Kshatriya for me; make thou  
this man sole chief of the clans (vis)..."

BLOOMFIELD: "This warrior, O Indra, do thou strengthen me do  
thou install this one as sole ruler (bull) of the  
Vis (the people.)

(8) In the same hymn in (Śau) IV, 22, 3; (Pai) III, 21, 2  
again it is said: (ab)

"ayām astu dhānapatir dhānānām  
ayām visām vispatir astu rājā / ..."

SĀYANA explains that the repetition of dhana and vis in  
dhānānām dhanapatiḥ and visām vispatiḥ signifies the multi-  
plicity (bahutva-Khyāpanārtham) of dhana and vis.

GRIFFITH: "Let him be the treasure-lord of goodly treasures,  
let him as King be master of the people ....."

WHITNEY: "Let this man be riches - lord of riches; let this  
King be people-lord of people ....."

BLOOMFIELD: "May this one be the treasure lord of riches, may  
this King be the tribal lord of the vis (the people..."

ZIMMER: ".... dieser König soll sein der Gauherr der Gaue.."

(9) In (Pai) VI, 9, 6 again, (abd)

āyus mantam varcasvantam atho adhipatim visām  
..... imam indra vrsnam kṛṇu //

a similar benediction is found.

(10) In (Pai) X, 2, 6 it is wished that the vises may like  
the king:

tubhyam śrayantu balayas tubhyam sulkah pradīyatām /  
tubhyam virāt payo ruhām tvām vāñchantu viśo mahīh //

which/.....

which almost echoes the example (1) above.

In all these instances viśaḥ appears to denote the people of the King - his subjects.

(b) Of the RV. instances repeated, we also find a number of occurrences of viś qualified by daiva etc., devānāṃ viśaḥ .... mānuṣīḥ (I, 50, 5 RV.), Ṛṣitīnām mānuṣīnām viśām daivīnām (III, 34, 2, RV.), saṃ asya manyave viśo viśvā namanta Ṛṣṭayah (VIII, 6, 4, RV.) viśo adevīr abhyacarantīr brhaspatinā yujendrah sasāhe (VIII, 96, 15, RV.)

(1) (Śau) IX, 4, 9, (Pai) XVI, 24, 9, ab,

daivīr viśaḥ pāyasvānā tanosi

tvām indram tvām sārāsvantamāhuḥ /

GRIFFITH: "Thou vigorous, reachest to the tribes of heaven.

Thee they call Indra, thee they call Sarasvān."

WHITNEY: "Rich in milk, thou stretchest unto the people (vic) of the gods; ..... etc.)

(2) Kēna devā ānuksiyati Kēna daivajanīr viśaḥ /

in (Śau) X, 2, 22, ab (GRIFFITH: "Through whom doth he abide with Gods? Through whom with the celestial Tribes?", WHITNEY: "Wherewith does he dwell upon the gods? Wherewith (upon) the people of the God folk?") has the distinct uses of deva and daivajanīr viśaḥ, and in the answer to this question the next verse (Śau) X, 2, 23 also has:

"brahma devā ānu ksiyati brahma daivajanīr viśaḥ"

(GRIFFITH: "Brahma inhabits with the Gods, Brahman among the Heavenly Tribes." WHITNEY: "The brahman dwells upon the Gods, the brahman upon the people of the god folk; ....")



Here visāḥ seems to denote not the tribe, but the demi-gods like gandharvas, or like Vasus who have non-earthly origin.

(3) In a laudatory hymn to Rohita who is described as the source of all lives, (Śau) XIII, 1, 2 and (Pai) XVIII, 15, 2:

ūd vāja ā gan yó apsv antár

visa ā roha tvādyonayo yāh /

Sōmam dādhānopā ṁsadhīr gās

(6) Cātuspado dvipada ā vēsayehā //

(WHITNEY: "Up hath arisen the power (vāja) that is within the waters; mount (ā-ruh) thou the clans (vis) that are sprung from thee (tvādyoni); assuming (dhā) the soma, the waters, the herbs the Kine, make thou the fourfooted, the two footed ones to enter here." GRIFFITH translates visa ā roha tvādyonayo yāh into "Mount o'er the tribes which thou hast generated." BLOOMFIELD translates it by "ascend upon the clans that are sprung from thee."

(4) In the same hymn in (Śau) XIII, 1, 10, (Pai) XVIII, 15, 10 (ab) it is said:

yāste visastāpasah sambabhūvūr

vatsam gāyatrīmanu tā ihāguh /

WHITNEY: "What clans (vis) of thine came into being out of ardor (tapas) those have come hither after the young (vatsa) the gāyatrī;"

GRIFFITH: "The tribes thy heat produced have followed hither the Galf and Gāyatri the strain that lauds him."

BLOOMFIELD: "The peoples that have originated from they tapas (heat or creative fervour) have followed here the Galf the Gāyatrī."

In the last two examples vises are said to be emanated from the tapas of Rohita, a form of Fire and of Sun and there is no reason to call them as "clans" or "tribes."

(5) In (Pai) III, 27, 2, (cd) tasmai viśo devakṛtā namanta sa hy antas sa hi havyo vabhūva // (17), sastra it is said that the gods made the vises for him. to GRIFFITH),

(6) In (Pai) XIX, 23, 3 (cd) vayantu sarve vo devās Sarvā vo vṛṇvatām viśaḥ // (18), rastra vis-as (subjects - WHITNEY, yusās, vācās and drāvins (according Sarvā vo vṛṇvatām viśaḥ // (18), vis-as (subjects - Here the verb vṛ suggests the choosing or welcoming of the King by his subjects.

(7) In (Pai) X, 3, 6 an interesting expression occurs:

asuro 'sīndranāmā 'yusmān Śata Śāradah / Sa indra iva deveṣu tviṣīmān viśa āvada // (19), rastra where viśa āvada echoes the problematic expression vidatham āvada of RV.

Excepting the first two instances here, vis seems to denote "the (human) people." In the first two also it seems to denote the celestial beings subordinate - like the common people or the subjects of a King. By deva-kṛtāḥ viśaḥ and the viśaḥ sprung from Rohita, the human common people who are so made subordinate to the King by the gods, may have been indicated.

(c)(I) In a typical Av. instance, in (Śau) XII, 6, 2, (Pai) XVI, 141, 2:

brāhma ca kṣatṛam ca rāṣṭram ca viśasca  
tviśasca yāsasca vācāsea drāviṇam ca //

connected /....

connected with the 5th verse of the same hymn:

tāni sārvaṇy āpa krāmanti brahmagavīm /

ādadānasya jinatō brāhmaṇam ksatriyasya //

it is laid down that a Ksatriya who takes a Brahmin's cows or oppresses a Brahmin will lose all their brahman (holiness, according to WHITNEY, energy according to GRIFFITH), ksatra (dominion according to WHITNEY, vigour according to GRIFFITH), rāstra (Kingdom - WHITNEY, power - GRIFFITH) vis-es (subjects - WHITNEY, might - GRIFFITH) and tvis, yasas, varcas and dravina (according to WHITNEY, brightness, glory, honour and property, - according to GRIFFITH, the speech and mental strength, the glory and duty.) There is all likelihood that interpreters will have difference of names for these words, but among the powers of Ksatriya we find not only Ksatra and rāstra (most possibly kingdom) and vis (probably the subjects) but also brahman. Probably brahman and Ksatra form a pair denoting mental and physical power and rāstra and vis also form a pair denoting the land of his ruling and the people he rules.

(2) vis and rāstra occurring in AV. (Śau) XIII, 1, 9 and (Pai) XVIII, 15, 9 :

yāste rūhaṇ prarūho yāsta āruho

yābhirāprśāsi divam antāriksam /

tāsām brāhmaṇā payasā vāvrdhano

visi rāstre jāgrhi rohitasya //

(GRIFFITH: "Thy risings up, thy mountings and ascensions where-

(6) with thou fillest heaven and airs mid region. By

prayer for these, by milk of these, increasing in

Rohita's Kingdom watch among his people.)

vis/.....

vis is also in Singular, which suggests the aspect other than the rāstra element of the King's Kingdom. The former may be the population (and the sovereign power over the people) while the latter may be the territory (and the ruling of it.)

(3) In AV. (Śau) XV, 8, 2:

Sá visah sábandhūn ānnaṁ  
annādyam abhyudatiṣṭhat //

Prior to this the first verse is:

Só 'rajyata tato rājanyó jāyata //

So the Rājanya came up to the viśes with their Kinsmen, the food and foodeating. In the next verse i.e. XV, 9, 1, sa viśo' nu vyacalat he is said to move out towards the viśes. Here vis also seems to be the common men over whom the Rājanya rules.

(4) In XV, 8, 3:

visāṁ ca vai sá sábandhūnām cānnasya  
cānnādyasya ca priyam dhāma bhavati yá evāṁ veda

following the above verse has once again vis with sabandhu occurring simultaneously with anna and annādyā, in a formulaic pattern but no certain meaning can be derived from this.

(5) In Śau VI, 13, 1:

namo devavadhebhyo namo rājavadhebhyah  
atho ye viśyānām vadhās tebhyo mṛtyo namo'stu te //

we find the parallel occurrence of deva vadhas rājavadhas and viśya vadhas, where vadha is supposed to denote the weapons. The deadly arms are said to comprise these three.

(6) vis occurring with ksatra in Pai V, 4, 12 (cd)

māṁ viśas sammanaso juṣantām  
pitryam ksatram prati jānātvasmāt (?)

which /....



which also gives the meaning of vis as the subject of the King -  
 "Let the subjects be of one mind and let the Father's power  
 which I shall inherit respond me .... Here vis seems to be the  
 King's "Subject."

(7) In Pai V, 5, 5 (ab):

vid vaśā sā ksatriyam garbham dadhe

is said in a successive pattern following

prthivī vaśā sā agnim garbham dadhe, then

antarikṣam .... vāyum .....etc., then

dyaus ..... sūryam .....etc., then

rg ..... sāma .....etc.,

where from we find as Agni is the lord of the earth, Vāyu of  
 the firmament, Sūrya of the Sky, Sāman of the RC (the Sāmaveda  
 having the Rgvedic hymns as its text), Ksatriya is also the lord  
 of the vis which seems to denote the common people who are  
 ruled.

(8) Pai II, 65, 2;

Śatam hemantān damayā sapatnān

visastvā sarvā guṅgavo bhavantu

seems to have said what has already been said in RV. X, 48, 8

(ab):

aḥam guṅgubhyo atithigvamīṣkaram

iṣam na vrtraturam viksu dhārayam /

Here also visah seems to be the subordinate or dominated people,  
 the subjects of the King.

(ii) (a) (1) visām purohita occurs in Pai XIX, 25, 10:

aham samityano (?) aham visām purohitah /

aham mitrasya kalpayam mayi āgastu dharunyasi

It is not possible to be definite about the meaning here due to uncertain reading, but visām purohitah may denote a leader of the people and not probably the religious priest nor also of the subjects of a King.

(2) The same expression occurs in Pai XIX, 29, 9

aham visām purohito madhuhasto madhujihvah

mayi/āgastu dharunī // and then

aham visyena Ketunā samāgacchema ...

also shows that the visām purohita will meet all others with ensign of vis-es or marked for (the good of) the vis-es.

(b) (1) In Pai XX, 13, 3 there is a verse:

janād visvajanīnām visām uruksitīnām /

dūrat tvā manye nṛtu (?) īrsāyā nāma bhesajam //

In/Sau VII, 45, 1 there is no visām, it has only some agreements:

janād visvajanīnāt sindhutāsparyābhr̥tam /

dūrāttvā manya udohrtam īrsyāyā nāma bhesajam //

Thus in Pai recension we find almost the same idea in two different expressions side by side janād visvajanīnām, where probably there is a confusion of cases. Here if jana does not stand for the later word janapada, it signifies people of all people and visām uruksitīnām signifies of people comprising a large number of men (Kṣiti) the only notable point is that while jana occurs in the Singular number vis occurs in the Plural.

Hence vis in plural seems to denote "people."

(2) vispatnyai referring to Sinivātī in Rv, II, 32, 7 is repeated in AV. But there is another occurrence of vispatnī in the Nominative Singular referring to Sinivati in AV. (Śau) VII, 46, 3:

yā vispatnī dramāsi prātīcī sahasrastukābhiyanti devī  
viṣṇoh patni búbhyam rātā havīmsi pátim devī rādhasē  
codayasva //

WHITNEY: "Who, mistress of the people, art a match for (prātīcī)

Indra, the thousand-braided goddess coming on, to thee, O Spouse of Vishnu, are the oblations given, stir up thy husband, O goddess unto bestowal."

GRIFFITH also renders vispatni as "Queen of men." SĀYANA explains it as visām pālayitrī.

(c) (1) vis in Locative plural which is very often found in RV. is found in a few instances in AV., vikṣvīdyah occurs in (Śau) II, 2, 1 (Pai) I, 7, 1: (ab)

divyó gandharvó (gandharvā in Pai) bhūvanasya yās pátir  
éka evā namasyó vikṣvīdyah /

tām tvā yaumi ..... (WHITNEY: "The heavenly Gandharva, who is the lord of being (bhūvana) the only one to receive homage to be praised among the clans (vis)...."

SĀYANA explains "namasyo vikṣvīdyah" as "prajāsu eka eva namaskāryah stutyasca." V. MĀDHAVA in the RV. instances of vikṣvīdyā, suchās in IV, 7, 2; VI, 2, 7 explains vikṣu as manusyesu.

(2) Śau VIII, 4, 13, Pai XVI, 10, 3 (ab)

vī tiṣṭhadvam maruto vikṣu  
icchata (ipsata in Pai) grbhāyāta raksāsah  
sāmpinastana /

(3) Śau IX, 5, 19, Pai XVI, 99, 5 (ab)

yé brahmané nidadhé yām ca vikṣú

vā viprūṣa odanānām ajāsyā /

(4) Pai XIV, 4, 5

Śivām rātrim ahni Sūryamca

himasya mātā suhavā no astu /

aśvastomasya subhage'va bodha

yena tvā vande viśvāsu vikṣu //

In all these instances "among or amidst the people" appears to be the meaning of vikṣu.

(5) Among the metres jagatī is said to represent the folk-element which is thus connected on many occasions with viś in the Yajurveda. In AV. (Pai) XV, 1, 6:

vairūpe sāmāniha tacchekayam /

jagatyainam vikṣvā vēṣayāmi //

(iv) Among the viśes therefore means "among the common men."

(iii) (a) (1) We can compare with the above instances the Singular locative form of viś used in (Śau) III, 3, 5 (Pai) II, 74, 7:

hvāyantu (hvayanti in Pai) tvā prati janāḥ

(pañcajanāḥ in Pai) pratimitrā avṛṣata /

indrāgnī viśvedevāste viśī kṣémamadīdharan //<sup>1</sup>

(GRIFFITH: "Let thine opponents call thee back. Thy friends have chosen thee again. Indra and Agni, all the Gods have kept thy home amid the tribe." wherein we find GRIFFITH might have misunderstood kṣemam.

WHITNEY translates the last line: "....Indra and Agni, all the gods, have maintained for thee security (kṣema) in /...



in the people (vis')."

SĀYANA explains this line "indrāgnī visvedevāsca visi  
(jātavedavacanam) vikṣu prajāsu tava kṣemam rakṣanam  
dhārayantu kurvantu." All consider te to be connected with  
kṣemam except BLOOMFIELD who is not very clear regarding it as  
he translates the latter portion thus, "Indra Agni and all the  
gods have kept prosperity with this people."

The following verse says whoever of the Sajātas be antagonistic,  
etc. Indra will divert him (from his antagonism,) thus appar-  
:ently vis is the group of the sajātas. In the previous  
verse i.e. III, 3, 4 (Śau) ... ta imam sajātā abhisamvisadhvam  
might also be helpful to form the idea. Another locative  
singular form has already been discussed as visi rāstre jāgrhi  
rohitasya in (c-2) above.

(iv) (a) (1) In (Śau) IV, 23, 1 (Pai) IV, 33, 1:

agnēr manve prathamasya prācetasah  
pāñca-janyasya bahudhā yāmindhate /  
visō-visah pravisivāmsamīmahe  
Sā no mūñcatvāmhasah //

(WHITNEY: "I reverence first the forethoughtful Agni, him of

(2) the five peoples whom men kindle in many places;  
we pray to him who hath entered into clans (vis);  
let him free us from distress.")

GRIFFITH translates visō visah pravisivāmsamīmahe by "We seek  
him who hath entered all our houses."

SĀYANA however explains visō visah as sarvāḥ prajāḥ and then  
says /....

says "jatharādirūpena pravistavantam tam agnim īmahe yācāmahe."

This might not be improbable in the conception of the Vedic poets and the word pravisivāmsam is well explained. But we can say that this word might be used for alliteration and euphony also. The meaning of it might be only appearing among each and every vis. It can be argued that Agni was not worshipped by all men. But poeticism has generally hyperbolic uses. Although SĀYANA's explanation is the most suitable one, there is some chance of using vis here also as a social group, especially as RV. contains many instances where Agni is placed among the vises as hotṛ etc. etc.

(b) (1) In the nuptial hymn in Pāi XIV, 2, 27, Pāi XVIII, 14, 7

(a) also if it Syonā bhava śvāsurebhyah syonā pātye gr̥hebhyah /  
Syonāsyai sarvasyai viśe syonā puṣṭāyaisām

RV. (in Pāi, patyāyaisām) bhava //

(GRIFFITH: "Be pleasant to thy husband's sire sweet to thy household and thy lord. To all this clan be gentle and favour these men's property.")

This singular viśe is again indicative of a social group of people, but as gr̥hebhyah is also there, it does not perhaps denote "household."

(2) In another instance in Pāi IV, 10, 3:

uttarā svasrū vā'va nanāndur upāsikṣāh /  
viśas tvā patyā(m) (?) kṛṇvantu bhavāsu  
devṛsu priyā //

Here we find the mention of the father in law the sister in law, the brother in law and viśah here seems to comprise all others of/...

Vasiṣṭh of the husband's family. Thus it may denote an exogamous viś social group. - I, 36, 1 (in the later book.) The group of men which is otherwise known as "a tribe" is also denoted by viś.

(v) Thus in AV., the possibility of the use of viś in the sense of "house" is significantly little. The most notable in this period is the large number of uses of viś in connection with the rājan, or ksatra or rāstra (as discussed in (i).) In (ii) "people" at large sometimes appears to be the meaning of it. The singular locative viśi as discussed in (iii) seems to be a group of sajātas, and in the nuptial hymn in (iv) (b) viś appears to be the exogamous social group of persons who are probably the Sajātas of the husband to which group the wife is taken after marriage. viśo viśah in (iv)

(a) also if it does not indicate an individual as SĀYANA has explained is likely to denote a kind of social group, as is mostly found in

G. Viś in IV.  
RV.

The occurrence of viś in IV. presents a striking contrast to that in RV. and AV. In the different texts of IV. the plural forms are significantly less numerous and the reduplicated forms are almost absent, while the singular forms in general are more numerous. of the plural the Instrumental, Dative, Ablative forms are not found in any Book of the IV., the Nominative / Accusative (viśah) Genitive (viśām) and Locative (viśu) occur but much less in number than in RV. Of the reduplicated forms viśo viśah, viśo viśah, viśam viśam are conspicuous by their absence and only viśe viśe occurring in RV. IV, 7, 1 is found in the repeated verses VS. (M) III, 15; (Kā) III, 3, 5; (Mā) XV, 26; (Kā) XVI, 5, 7; (Mā) XXXIII, 6; (Kā) XXXII, 1, 6; KS. VI, 9; Kapś IV, 8; MS. I, 51; TS. I, 5, 5, 1. Conversely, again, more numerous are the Singular forms of Nominative (viś) /...

Vasistha - VII, 33, 10; vises of the Trtsus - VII, 33, 6) besides vises of the Pūrus - I, 36, 1 ( in the later book.) The group of men which is otherwise known as "a tribe" is also denoted by vis in the early RV. books, viz. dāsī, Kṛṣṇā and adevī (iv - a, b, c) and in the later books also āryā and sumitrā (iv - d, e) The vises of Trnaskanda and Kutsa (iv - f w, 4) belonging to the later period might have been used for the people of the king. The meaning "subject" of "a king" (rājan) is derived from the sense of the group belonging to a king i.e. following the rule of a king. In the earlier book of RV. the gods are mentioned rājan of the vises. "The fighting men" may also have been derived from the meaning "group of people subordinate to one."

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#### C. Vis in YV.

The occurrence of vis in YV. presents a striking contrast to that in RV. and AV. In the different texts of YV. the plural forms are significantly less numerous and the reduplicated forms are almost absent, while the singular forms in general are more numerous. of the plural the Instrumental, Dative, Ablative forms are not found in any Book of the YV., the Nominative /Accusative (visah) Genitive (visām) and Locative (vikṣu) occur but much less in number than in RV. Of the reduplicated forms visó visah, visó visah, visam visam are conspicuous by their absense and only visé visé occurring in RV. IV, 7, 1 is found in the repeated verses VS. (Mā) III, 15; (Kā) III, 3, 5; (Mā) XV, 26; (Kā) XVI, 5, 7; (Mā) XXXIII, 6; (Kā) XXXII, 1, 6; KS. VI, 9; KapS IV, 8; MS. I, 51; TS. I, 5, 5, 1. Conversely, again, more numerous are the Singular forms of Nominative (vit) /...



(viś) (only three in RV) Accusative (viśam) (only one in RV.) Instrumental (one in VS., five in TS., eight to ten in MS., six to seven in KS., while RV. has seven), and so on. The dual from viśat occurs once in RV. and in KS. of YV. also once. This contrasting feature is significant; it shows that viś is at this period a well-defined class i.e. the common-people-class. Among the derivatives remarkable is the large number of uses of the word vaiśya in YV. which exists once in RV. The word viśya also occurs in many instances in YV. etc. etc.)

(i) In AV. (Śau) V, 17, 9 (Pai) IX, 16, 7, it has been said that Brahmana is the lord not Rājanya nor Vaiśya and in AV. (Pai) III, 13, 8 vaiśya is mentioned with sūdra and ārya.

In MS. I, 6, 5 and 9, in III, 1, 5; IV, 2, 7 vaiśya is used as a class like rājanya, and sūdra.

In TS. II, 5, 10, 1 and 2 it is said, besides the warrior there are three other sorts of men, the Brāhmana, Vaiśya and Sūdra and for a Vaiśya, Seventeen is the number of repetition of Sāmidheni-s and in TS. VII, 1, 1, 5 where an equation of the Vaiśyas among men is made with All-gods as deities, Jagatī among the metres, Vairūpa Sāman, cows among the cattle.

In VS. (Mā) XXXI, 11; (Kā) XXXV, 1, 11 only once the RV. verse X, 90, 12 is repeated. This has also been repeated in AV. (Pai) IX, 5, 6.

(ii) Viśya is also indiscriminately used for vaiśya in the different texts of YV. aruts are called the deva-viśas. By equating the manuṣya-

In /...viś-es/...

In VS. XVIII, 48 and TS. V, 7, 6, 4 the four classes are mentioned Brāhmanas, rājan-s, visya-s, sūdra-s.

In VS. XXVI, 2 they are mentioned as Brahman, rājanya, Sūdra, and Arya.

(the people) where vis has some abstract sense. In any case,

(iii) (a) Of the instances in YV. there are some which have repeated RV. verses (e.g. TS. I, 2, 8, 2; VS. (Mā) IV, 31 etc. repeating RV. V, 85, 2; TS. II, 6, 12, 4, VS. (Mā) XIX, 68 etc. repeating RV. X, 15, 2; TS. IV, 4, 4, 3 repeating RV. I, 45, 6 etc. etc.)

(b) There are only a few instances in YV. where Agni is said to be placed in the vis-es (vikṣu) which is very often found in RV. e.g. TS. VI, 1, 11, 3:

hṛtsu hi Kratum vikṣvagnim ity āha varuna  
hi vikṣvagnim divi sūryam ityāha

(" ... Varuna placed Agni in dwellings .....")

(c) In YV. there are numerous uses of vis, where Maruts (sometimes Viśvedevas and sometimes Ādityas) among the deities, Jagatī among the metres, vairūpa among the Sāmans etc. are equated with vis among men. (TS. IV, 4, 12, 2; KS. XXII, 14; MS. III, 16, 4; TS. III, 5, 7, 2; TS. I, 8, 13, 1; KS. XV, 7; MS. II, 6, 10; VS. (Mā) X, 12; MS. II, 1, 20 and TS. IV, 3, 3, 1; TS. VI, 6, 5, 3; KS. XXIX, 9; KapS. XLVI, 2; MS. IV, 7, 8; TS. V, 4, 7, 7; KS. XXI, 10; MS. III, 3, 9; KS. XI, 6; MS. II, 2, 1; TS. II, 3, 1, 3 - 5 etc. etc.)

"Common man" is in general the meaning of vis in these instances. The Maruts are called the deva-vises. By equating the manusya-vis-es/... evaibhyah kurvan prāna ...."

vis-es with the deva-vises (TS. II, 2, 5, 7 and VI, 1, 5, 3 of KS. XI, 6) the sacrificial formulas generally arrange for vis having full control over the rāṣṭra (the realm) and the vis (the people) where vis has some abstract sense. In any case, the word in these examples do not carry a sense of social group.

(d) Vis is sometimes mentioned as opposed to Kṣatra where this is clearly a word for an abstract notion the corresponding form of it with concrete notion might have been conceived by visya (TS. V, 4, 6, 7; MS. III, 3, 7, and 10; KS. XXI, 10)

(e) There are a few instances in YV. however where vis appears to have the sense of a social group.

(1) In VS. IX, 40; X, 18:

"imam amuṣya putram amuṣyai putram asyai  
visa' eṣa vo'mī rājā somo'smākam brāhmaṇānām rājā"  
 (GRIFFITH (following MAHIDHARA): "Him Son of such-a-man and attached to the word visya, and visya which are more frequent such-a-woman, of such-a-tribe. This is your King, ye tribesmen. Soma is Lord and King of us the Brahmanas" with a note on "Tribesmen": "here the name of the tribe or people e.g. Ye Kurus or Panchalas or Bharatas."

(2) In KS. XV, 7; MS. II, 6, 9 it is said:

"ayam asā amuṣyāyaṇo muṣyāḥ putro muṣyām visy  
eṣa te jana te rājā somo asmākam brāhmaṇānām rājā"

(3) In KS. XI, 6 again a similar expression is found:

"... nirvapan bruyād iṣam amum amuṣyāyanam amuṣyāḥ  
putram amuṣyām visy avagamayateti bhāgadheyam  
evaibhyah Kurvan prāha ...."

(Having offered he should say - "Do make him attain it him of such and such father, of such and such mother in such and such vis i.e. social group." - This having made a distinction

In TS. I, 8, 12, 2 from its use in the Samhitās) and as (2) the subjects of "avinno'yam asāv amusyāno 'syām viśy asmin rāstre connection of word ..... "the rāstra, rājan etc. As they do not have

("Notified is he N.N. descendant of N.N. in this folk .... in this Kingdom ...)

These instances show the special use of vis as a social group, but the specific nature of this social group cannot be understood for want of sufficient evidence.

Hence in YV. the sense of vis has generally been fixed either for the concrete sense of "common man" as opposed to rāstra or for the abstract sense derived from it with which the nobility (Kṣatra) is set in opposition, one wishing to dominate over the other. The sense of "common man" is also attached to the word viśya, and Vaiśya which are more frequent in the YV. than in RV. and AV.

The RV. sense of "group of men" is also retained in a few instances where vis probably stands for groups of men like Bharatas, Kauravyas, Pañcālas etc.

#### D. Vis in the Brāhmanas and onwards

Vis occurs in all the Brāhmanas in many instances. But nowhere is it used for any special sort of social group. The word occurs in a large number of instances quoted from RV. and YV. and the uses of the word are mostly as (1) common men or the vaiśya class of people/....



people as opposed to Kṣatra the class of nobility or power (As manuṣyaviśah they are often equated or compared to the deva viśah the Maruts or Viśvedeva-s or Ādityas and to the Jagatī metre etc. This use of viś follows from its use in the Samhitās) and as (2) the subjects of the King, which is generally obtained with the connection of words like rāṣṭra, rājan etc. As they do not have the meaning of a social group, no detailed discussion of these instances is necessary. (3) how some of them were replaced and (4) how their meanings were changed.

The word Kula as we have seen was employed first of all probably in the sense of "the line of descent" signifying the people belonging to the line forming a social group. Because of close ties of relation between the members of this group, it was highly probable that they lived together in the same house, from which the sense of the members of the family living in the same house might have developed in RV. I and Aṅ. It has been noticed that the sense of "house" occurs to the word much later and it must have been developed from the sense of household and the members of the household. We have also noticed that gṛha was the term used for "the house, the place of residence" as old as in RV. "The line of descent" or "the members of the line" is the meaning of the word as we find it in the use in RV. I and the Kalpasūtra. But gradually another word comes into being to stand for "the genealogical line." The word is vanṣa. It is used in the Samhitās<sup>1</sup> in the sense of rafters or beams of the house while in the Brāhmaṇas /...

<sup>1</sup> RV. VII, 53, 1; IV, 56, 3 and II, 15, 2 - avanṣa in the sense of "one without prop or support." In MB. also vanṣa is used in the sense of "a post" in IV, 8, 10.

Brāhmanas (Ś Br. X, 6 III. CONCLUSION I, 3, 14 etc.) first it isA. Relationship between the words: spiritual genealogy (a list of

Our study has attempted to exploit directly all the sources of our information regarding the employment of the proposed words in the early texts of Indo-Aryan to the sense of a social group. Investigations have been made to solve the following queries (1) what were the social group terms as such at the time of the RV. (2) how each of these terms were used (3) how some of them were replaced and (4) how their meanings were changed.

The word Kula as we have seen was employed first of all probably in the sense of "the line of descent" signifying the people belonging to the line forming a social group. Because of close ties of relation between the members of this group, it was highly probable that they lived together in the same house, from which the sense of the members of the family living in the same house might have developed in RV. X and AV. It has been noticed that the sense of "house" occurs to the word much later and it must have been developed from the sense of household and the members of the household. We have also noticed that grha was the term used for "the house, the place of residence" as old as in RV. "The line of descent" or "the members of the line" is the meaning of the word as we find it in the use in RV. I and the Kalpasūtra. But gradually another word comes into being to stand for "the genealogical line." The word is vamśa. It is used in the Samhitās<sup>1</sup> in the sense of rafters or beams of the house while in the Brāhmanas /...

<sup>1</sup> RV. VII, 58, 1; IV, 56, 3 and II, 15, 2 - avamśa in the sense of "one without prop or support." In MS. also vamśa is used in the sense of "a post" in IV, 8, 10.

Brāhmanas (Ś Br. X, 6, 5, 9; Br. Up. VI, 3, 14 etc.) first it is used to indicate a genealogy - the spiritual genealogy (a list of teachers.) In Pāṇini Sūtra IV, 3, 77 - the relation is described as of two types, spiritual or genetic. (vidyā yoni sambandha-.) The word vamśa is however established as a synonym of Kula for "genealogical line" in the later days. In Hir. G.S. I, 7, 12 under brahmācāridharma it is said about "... ye tasyām guror vamśyāḥ." The other word that stands in relation to Kula is gotra but that has also taken up the sense of a social group quite late, not possibly before the Brahmana period. Prior to that the word may have had the sense of "a group" only, but BROUGH (EBSGP) argues that the Gotra-system was prevalent even at the time of RV. which is evident from the family Book of hymns in the 8th Mandala. The references to Vasiṣṭha-s or Bṛgu-s in RV. may point out that families were named by the clan-name, but no term as a "Gotra" was probably in use in the Samhitā period. "Pravara" is another term in the Sūtrā period which marked the line of ṛṣi ancestry of persons. Ārṣeya is a synonym of pravara but it occurs in RV.<sup>1</sup> in the sense of "belonging to a ṛṣi." In AV. (Śau) XI, 1, 16, 25, 26, 32, 33, 35; XII, 4, 2, 12; XVI, 8, 12, 13 and in VS. (Mā) VII, 46; XXI, 61; TS. I, 4, 4, 3; VI, 6, 1, 4, it is used in the sense of "the descendant of a ṛṣi".<sup>2</sup> Thus the word "Kula" only may have been used at the time of RV. in the sense of a social group of persons of near relations, maybe of common line of /... seems to be more specific in the RV. and gr̥ṇa is a general

<sup>1</sup> RV. IX, 97, 51

<sup>2</sup> It may have been used the earliest in Ś Br. I, 4, 2, 3 - in the sense of a social group "athārṣeyam pravṛṇīte"

of descent and/or residing in common. The word gostha is found in RV. which was "the place for the cows." It clearly denoted the cow-stall in the habitation of the people. The cows return from their pastures to the gostha to their young ones eagerly. Gotra in its earlier meaning besides denoting "a collection of cows" also denotes "a place where the cows are kept confined by the enemy" which is generally crushed down by Indra or other gods to set free the cows. The latter is invariably the enemy's enclosure of the cows used never in the sense of the ordinary fold of the domestic cattle for which the former is used. The cows went out to graze in the aranya and returned to the gostha in the grāma, as it is found in RV. Besides the local sense, grāma appears to have an earlier meaning in which there are some uses not only in RV. but also in the later days. It is found that in the period of YV., one wants to possess a grāma, and as a result of certain ceremonials can obtain the hold over his sajāta-s and becomes grāmin. As KEITH (BYV p. 7 fn. 2) says "sajāta indicates primarily "a man's relations," and then more generally "his equals generally of whatever their rank may be." (Cf. also EGGELING, SBE XLI, 107, 111). Sajāta and sajātya occur in RV. although fewer in number than in YV. The words grāma and jana are often used to denote the same as the Bharatas are referred to by either of the words in III, 33, 11 and III, 53, 12. But while jana is directly attached to the name, grāma is qualified by gayvan. Thus jana seems to be more specific in the RV. and grāma is a general term for a host of people. There might be the sense of a group but the nature of the group was in all probability not fixed, as it was used for people assembled for battle etc. Jana is also used sometimes /..... also used in the sense of colour generally used to denote the effulgence of Agni (IV, 5, 12; II, 1, 12; V, 2, 3; X, 2, 3) and of Soma (I, 66, 8; VI, 2; VI, 15; X, 4; X, 4.)



Varna which is originally found in connection with Arya (III, 34, 9) and Ārya (II, 12, 4), (to which the word vis is also attached, as we have seen) is later used to denote the "caste" - division (discussed by RENOUE in EVR.) The word grāma which in RV. denotes "child" "descendant" etc. as in the post Vedic stage takes the sense of "sub-group of a group, which in the meanwhile is signified by the word vis":tives to substantivise the adjective. This is a peculiar use of the word which is not found with either grāma or vis. The meaning of grāma as "settlement" is already derived in the RV. from the sense of "the group of people" assembled for some common purpose viz. to collect the cows, to fight out a common enemy and to reside together amiably. Thus the sense of both jana and grāma as groups of people seems to be earlier than RV. The use of pañca jana as "five tribed people" or "five tribes" might have been pre-Vedic as concluded by HILLEBRANDT (ZII) and in YV. its use seems to have been fossilised. Some attempts might have been made by the Vedic poets to ascribe the sense of five individuals even in RV. considering the meaning of jana also as "individual." The use of jana in connection with rājan or gopā etc. does not necessarily point out that its meaning has developed to the sense of "subject." The word vis on the other hand has developed the sense of "people" in the RV. stage while its pre-Vedic meaning might have been "dwelling" or "settlement." The meaning of this word has gradually changed to the meaning of "the host of common men" from which in the AV. period definitely, the rājan, and rājanya or small kings and also the Brahman-s have taken themselves out. This necessarily presupposes a system of "occupational class-system" - widely known as the "caste" system.

### Varna<sup>1</sup>/....

<sup>1</sup> The word is also used in the sense of colour generally used to denote the effulgence of Agni (IV, 5, 12; II, 1, 12; V, 2, 3; X, 3, 3) and of Soma (IX, 66, 8; 71, 2; 97, 15; 104, 4; 105, 4.)

Varna which is originally found in connection with ārya (III, 34, 9) and dāsa (II, 12, 4), (to which the word vis is also attached, as we have seen) is later used to denote the "caste" - division (discussed by RENOU in EVR.) The word prajā which in RV. denotes "child" "descendant" etc. ~~is~~ in the post Vedic stage takes the sense of "subject" of a king, which in the meanwhile is signified by the word vis at least from AV. onwards.

The word jāti which in the Vedic period is used for the abstract sense "birth," is found in the Sūtra period denoting the social group fixed by "birth" (jātibhede tu bhidyate pañkti vaiśamyāt in Hir Gr. S XXIV, 4, 17) jātyantara in Bau Śr S XXVIII, 2, jātisamhāra in Lāt. Śr S VI, 6, 14; 7, 10; 7, 17; etc.) and later on this becomes also the term for "caste" or "class." The word jñāti which might have had its same origin as that of jana, is found on four occasions in RV. (But in 'Vedic Index' the references are not quoted.) ZIMMER thinks that the term might have been taken from law meaning "witness" and ROTH also suggests its original sense, "Surety" and thus they think about different origin of the word. Whatever may be its origin it is used in RV. in the sense of 'relation' (VII, 55, 5; X, 66, 14; X, 85, 28; X, 117, 9)

(ii) Social History as depicted by the words:

The dynamics of social history can be roughly hinted at by the study of the words looking at the motivational processes of human beings. Although one cannot say with all emphasis that the presence or absence of a word or a group of words can be a reliable proof of anything, there must be some material which if handled with care can give /...

give some idea about the past history of the society. The uncertainty of the meaning of the word itself is a barrier to form the necessary idea of the history. But one must carefully omit all uncertainties and must remain satisfied with as little idea as one can get from it instead of filling up the lacunae with imagination.

The linking of the meaning of mahākula in RV. Bk. I in the sense of one having noble line of descent with Kulapā in RV. Bk. X and AV. in the sense of the chief of the house (male and female) points out a fact that might be probable that the people belonging to one line of descent used to live together at the time of RV. (latest.) In the Brahmanical period the household comprised the students also and the system of having all the members of the same line of descent dwelling in the same place is changed. The word vispati living in the house who is other than the father of the girl whom a man likes to meet at night (VII, 55, 5) is in all probability a man in charge of the vis. At the same time there is a Kulagopa who is functionally entrusted with protecting the Kula. But there may be slight difference between vispati and Kulagopa. The former may be one outside the blood relation and may be in charge of a bigger group of dwellings as vis might have denoted. As grāma never denoted a definite social group and just signified a number of people united for some common purpose and very soon in the RV. period developed the local sense the word grāmanī who functioned as a leader of a group of men as in the function of giving dakṣiṇā in a sacrifice., gradually was known as a leader of a grāma, a local body. The words vispati and Kulapa and Kulagopa were eventually out of use and grāmanī is used as a ~~patibking~~ —

early stage of the RV. grāma was only a general term for a group, vis attained the meaning of a "social group" (bigger than kula, the group of kins dwelling together.) and gana and gotra attained the sense of social group in the late stage of the Vedic period.

a prosperous man in the settlement. In the YV. he is clearly a Vaisya, but at this time the Varna classification of Brahman, Ksatra (Rājanya), Viś (Viśya/Vaiśya) is fully established. The word vis, on the other hand, primarily having a locational sense has already attained the sense of the people in general and thence to the "common man". Gana having the sense of followers is generally understood as a particular type of gods in bands, although devavis is sometimes also used to denote it. The primary meaning of gana as a retinue however took a turn to indicate the human followers of a Rsi like Atri (as in RV.) But it was rare in use and in the Gotra system in the postVedic days gana was also a term for marking the spiritual line of descent. The development of the word jana shows a tendency of fading its group-sense even from the early period of RV. and thus has a peculiar vague sense and the function of substantivising the adjective to indicate either a group or an individual.

In conclusion from what we have studied above in detail, we can emphasise that the Vedic condition was not uniformly represented by the terms kula, ~~vis~~ vis, jana, grāma, gotra, gana. Their changed meanings in the successive stages have to be taken into account. It was not the fact that a collection of kulas formed a gotra, an aggregate of gotras formed a goṣṭhī, an aggregate of goṣṭhīs formed a ~~grāma~~ grāma, an aggregate of grāmas formed a vis, and an aggregate of vises formed a jana,<sup>1</sup> as one would fondly theorise. Kula and jana were the terms for "social group" in the early stage of the RV, grāma was only a general term for a group, vis attained the meaning of a "social group" (bigger than kula, the group of kins dwelling together.) and gana and gotra attained the sense of social group in the late stage of the Vedic period.



VIDATHA

Vidatha occurs with its derivative vidathya in as many as 120 instances in different case endings in RV. The use of the word is frequent in RV. but is gradually less and less in the later texts. ROTH<sup>1</sup>, GRASSMANN<sup>2</sup>, BERGAIGNE<sup>3</sup>, LUDWIG<sup>4</sup>, ZIMMER<sup>5</sup>, REGNAUD<sup>6</sup>, MAX MÜLLER<sup>7</sup>, OLDENBERG<sup>8</sup>, BLOOMFIELD<sup>9</sup>, GRIFFITH<sup>10</sup>, GELDNER<sup>11</sup>, among other European Vedic scholars have tried to interpret with all seriousness the word occurring in the RV. passages, but their meanings are all varying with one another. Some of the scholars sometimes interpret it as some kind of institution or assembly. The Indian annotators, namely SĀYANA, VEṆKATA, MĀDHAVA and SKANDASVĀMIN generally explain the word as "yajña"<sup>12</sup> as it is found in 'Nighantu' (III, 17). But sometimes they suggested different meanings, such as yajña-grha, grha, vedana, jñāna etc. and the three very often disagree. YĀSKA suggests the meaning yajña in IX, 3 (RV. I, 162, 1) and vedana in III, 12 and VI, 7 (RV. I, 164, 21; III, 27, 7). Of the European Vedic scholars, WILSON zealously followed SĀYANA and in spite of his departures in certain places, in general he translates vidatha by "sacrifice." According to ROTH ('SW') the primary meaning of the word is either "Weisung, Gebot, Anordnung, Ordnung" on the one hand, and "Ansage" on the other. He says that these meanings have also certain developments. From the first meaning is derived, as he says, "Weisung geben, entscheiden, zugebeiten haben," for the word vidathā in the accusative singular with the verb ā-vad. From the second, he thinks are derived (i) "Versammlung einer Gemeinde u. dgl. verein Rath Versammlung"/...

<sup>1</sup> 'SW', <sup>2</sup> 'WRV', <sup>3</sup> discussed SBE (XXXII), <sup>4</sup> DRV, <sup>5</sup> AL, <sup>6</sup> as quoted by MAX MÜLLER SBE (XXXII), <sup>7</sup> op.cit., <sup>8</sup> SBE (XLVI), <sup>9</sup> JAOS(XIX), <sup>10</sup> HRV, <sup>11</sup> HOS(XXXV) ZDMG(LII), <sup>12</sup> "vidanty asmin karma jātam adhvaryvādaya iti vidatho yajñah" SĀYANA III, 26, 6 of RV.

Versammlung" which is the secular meaning, (ii) "Versammlung zum Gottesdienst Festgenossenschaft, Feier"- the religious meaning, (iii) "Kriegerisches Aufgebot zug, geschwar Aufgebot"- the military meaning.

'Vedic Index' argues that this threefold meaning of assembly has been derived by ROTH from the primary meaning "Order" through an intermediate meaning "a concrete body giving order."

GRASSMANN ('WRV') makes nine categories of the different meanings of Vidatha, although between some of them clear discrimination is not possible:

- (1) Versammlung; insbesondere.
- (2) Versammlung zum Gottes dienste, religiöse Festversammlung;
- (3) Genossenschaft, Gemeinde; insbesondere
- (4) Schaar der Gotter;
- (5) drei solche;
- (6) du, die beiden Gemeinden der Götter und Menschen
- (7) vidatham āvad Versammlung durch Ansprache, Anordnungen

U.S.W. leiten, namentlich die gottes dienstliche.

- (8) die Versammlung, oder Haus-oder Ortsgemeinde;
- (9) Kampf, Treffen.

For vidathya also he makes out three kinds of meanings (i) in der Versammlung hervorragend, (ii) übertragen auf den Reichtum; (iii) für das Opferfest geeignet, festlich. We shall have to examine how far these meanings are tenable in the respective examples.

ZIMMER ('AL') while discussing RV. II, 27, 12 takes the word in the sense of "an asylum" like the house of a Brahmin, according to him, it is a "Versammlung" smaller than samiti taking the people not outside the clan(?)

LUDWIG/...

LUDWIG gives it the sense of "Bekanntschaft" then "Gesellschaft" and lastly as synonymous with "yajña (sacrifice) assemblage." He considered it a type of samiti which was of the maghavans and the Brāhmanas ("Vedic Index").

BLOOMFIELD (JAOS XIX) suggested the primary meaning of the word to be "the establishment (where Sacrifices are performed)" and the secondary meaning is derived from it which is "the sacrifices in the establishments." He dismisses the meaning "Opferversammlung" given by the older translators. But some of his arguments are not well-founded.

Thus "there was in the main no public cult," or "the sacrifice is strictly a private affair" or "there was always one yajamāna" is not a sound presumption and SHARMA ("APII", 74-77) controverts it nicely. According to BLOOMFIELD there is a point of contact between sabhā and vidatha but that is of extreme opposites, - vidatha connected with home matters while sabhā generally with public matters.

GRIFFITH in his translation of the Rgveda generally follows LUDWIG and at times MAX MÜLLER, but his renderings of the word vidatha are generally "assembly", "synod", "Holy gathering", "festivals" and sometimes "sacred rites" and "sacrifices."

In GELDNER's translation of the Rgveda into German the most common meaning attributed is the etymological meaning "weishet" or "weiser Rede"

and sometimes also "Kenner Schaft" or "erkenntnisse"; but "Opfer" or "Opfer rede" is also not scarce. In 'Vedic Index' it is said that

GELDNER's primary meaning is "knowledge", "wisdom" and "priestly lore" while the secondary sense is "sacrifice" or "spiritual authority"

('Ved. St'). In ZDMG (1898) (730 ff) GELDNER makes a thorough examination of the word vidatha, and is of the opinion that the word is bordered/...

MACDONELL also in his 'Vedic Reader' under I, 85, 1, derives the word bordered neither on the political nor domestic affairs, it is used to denote a social conception (p.734). He thinks that the expressions "Gelehrtenzunft" and "Gelehrtenfamilie" often fall together in the use of the word vidatha. He points out here, as also in many instances in the translation, that between two "Gelehrtencliquen", there was "Redeschlachten" or "wortkampf" which obtained for the participants glory and reward from the rich Yajamānas, and in his opinion in vidatha-s such battles of speech took place. The word is sometimes interpreted as "the persons of the household" (in connection with āvad which according to GELDNER - is "to speak a word of authority" or "to give direction") which he says is a peculiar use of the word. As GRIFFITH and GELDNER give complete translations of the RV. text, it has been possible to compare their interpretations with MAX MÜLLER in SBE XXXII, (110 note 3) (RV. I, 60, 1) criticises ROTH's "assignment of too exclusively political meaning of vidatha" by pointing out that "public meeting at that time had always a religious character", which however cannot be denied so far as the social condition of the Vedic period was concerned. Further at P.349 under Note 2 of V, 59, 2, the different etymologies given by different scholars (ROTH, GRASSMANN, BERGAIGNE and GELDNER) according to REGNAUD are discussed and MAX MÜLLER rejects REGNAUD's derivation of the word from the verb root vidh- 'to sacrifice' by saying:

"But in vidatha if it stood for vidhatha, there would be no phonetic excuse for changing dh into d at least in Sanskrit ... there is no phonetic law to prevent the formation of such a word as vidhatha ..... If therefore vidatha signifies "sacrifice", this is not because it is derived from vidh "to sacrifice."

Vidatha may have been the name of a sacred act as veda is of sacred knowledge."



MACDONELL also in his 'Vedic Reader' under I, 85, 1, derives the word from the verb-root vidh in the sense of 'to worship' and gave it the meaning 'divine worship.'

OLDENBERG (SBE XIVI) derives the word from vi-dhā and similarly accounts for the change of vidhatha to vidatha and he gives it the meaning of "distribution", "disposition of business" and "ordinance" derived from the root-idea. But these meanings can not suit to all the instances.

#### A. Vidatha in RV.

As GRIFFITH and GELDNER give complete translations of the RV. text, it has been possible to compare their interpretations with SĀYANA's. The interpretations of the other scholars are occasionally cited when they are considered necessary.

SĀYANA interprets vidatha mostly as yajña, sometimes he suggests a special or particular portion of the performance of sacrifice by explaining it as savana (II, 4, 8). Once he gives the meaning 'battle' (VII, 18, 13) although both GRIFFITH and GELDNER translate the word into "sacrifice" and "Opfer" respectively. On a few occasions (The 22 occurrences of brhadvadema vidathe survirāḥ of Book II and X, 85, 26, 27; VII, 84, 3; II, 27, 12; I, 130, 1) SĀYANA suggests the meaning grha (one of them is etymologically explained as labdhavya grha). Sometimes this meaning is suggested as an alternative one with yajña (e.g. III, 3, 3.) For the others he suggests the meaning (veditavya) karman/sthāna or vedanīya/kriyamāna jñāna or simply jñāna/jñātavya (I, 31, 6; I, 164, 21; III, 1, 2; III, 27, 7; IV, 16, 3; IV, 38, 4; VI, 51, 2; VIII, 39, 9) His meaning of yajña found/...

found agreement with GELDNER's and GRIFFITH's, Opfer/sacrifice on some 9 occasions (I, 60, 1; I, 64, 1, 6; I, 92, 5; III, 4, 5; III, 39, 1; VI, 11, 2; VII, 43, 3 and X, 92, 2). Sometimes GRIFFITH renders it as 'holy synod' while SĀYANA and GELDNER render yajña and Opfer respectively (I, 40, 6; III, 1, 18; VI, 24, 2). In several other places SĀYANA and GELDNER agree with their meanings yajña and Opfer while GRIFFITH gives a different meaning (I, 143, 7; I, 186, 1; III, 1, 1, 18; III, 28, 4; III, 54, 2, 11; III, 56, 5 ab, cd, 8; III, 55, 7; V, 59, 2; VII, 21, 2; VII, 37, 2; VII, 93, 5; VII, 99, 6; X, 11, 3; X, 12, 7; X, 96, 1; X, 100, 6.) Again, between SĀYANA and GRIFFITH there is agreement in the meaning yajña/sacrifice on 9 occasions while GELDNER differs (I, 85, 1; I, 89, 7; I, 151, 1; I, 166, 7; III, 26, 6; III, 38, 5; V, 33, 9; VII, 73, 2; X, 41, 1.)

(i) Vidathe, the locative singular form is the most frequent. It occurs 50 times in the RV. (a) some of these have apparent connections with words which indicates its connection with religious rites, (b) some have not so apparent connections, (c) some are connected with number three and (d) some are connected with words meaning "to speak."

(a) (1) yajñāsca bhūd vidathe cārurāntama

ā sarvātātim āditim vṛṇīmahe (X, 100, 6 (cd) )

Notable is that besides vidathe there is yajñah. SĀYANA explains vidathe as yajñe and yajñah as yastavyah. It might be poetically said of Agni that he is the sacrifice in Vidatha, that is how GRIFFITH translates but he translates vidatha by "Synod." GELDNER translates "Und das Opfergebet möge der kennerschaft/...

kennerschaft genehm sein, ..." From this instance, however, we can say vajña takes place in vidatha which is either a place or a function of religious rites.

(2) somasyā mā tavasam vaksyagñe (III, 39, 2 ab)

clearly vahnim cakārtha vidathe vajadhyai (III, 1, 1 (ab) ) vidatha vajadhyai is explained by SĀYANA as vajñe vastum, by GRIFFITH as "to worship in the assembly", by GELDNER as "bei dem Opfer ... um den Weihspruch zu sprechen." Thus we find SĀYANA emphasising on the religious rites performed in vidatha, GRIFFITH, on the gathering of the people for that purpose, and GELDNER insists on an etymological meaning which we also notice in the other instances. GELDNER makes tavasam (GRASSMANN (WRV) gives its denotation "Kraft" or "Kraftig" or "stark") connected with somasya and vahnim (as "leader") connected with "vidathe". His construing is all right but vahnim should better be understood as vodhāram (SĀYANA) in the sense of "one who carries the whole show of the Vidathe."

(3) asminno adyā vidathe vajatrā in the vidatha.

(11) visve devā haviṣi mādayadhvam / (VI, 52, 17 cd)

SĀYANA explains vidathe as vajñe. GRIFFITH translates it by "in ... assembly." GELDNER translates it differently as haviṣi; he translates evidently by "an dem opfer." He insists on the etymological meaning of vidatha as weisheit rede, but in view of a call to the gods to take delight in the haviṣ, the importance of "weisheit rede" is diminished.

(4) prā sōmāso madacyutah śravase no maghōnah gods like

Area who is sutā vidathe akramuh (IX, 32, 1) In the other

The Soma-sacrifice is suggested in vidatha.

(5) yā jāgrvirvidathe śasyamānendra  
yatte jāyate viddhī tasya (III, 39, 1 cd)

and (6) diva ścidā pūrvā jāyamānā  
vi jāgrvir vidathe śasyamānā (III, 39, 2 ab)

clearly states that in the vidatha, śasyamānā praise awakens the gods.

(7) brahmāneva vidatha ukthasāsā  
dūteva havyā jānyā purutrā (II, 39, 1 cd)

Here the twin gods Asvins are compared to Brahmans chanting praises in vidatha, though GELDNER translates "An weisheit wie zwei Hohepriester, die das Lobgedicht vortragen."

(8) ā na ilābhir vidathe susastī  
visvānarah savitā devā etra (I, 186, 1 ab)

In vidatha offerings are also given to gods.

(9) prā te mahé vidathe śamsisam harī (X, 96, 1)

(10) vāsuh śamsa narām kārudhāyā (I, 153, 3 cd)

vājī stutó vidathe dāti vājam (VI, 24, 2)

The god gives strength being praised in the vidatha.

(11) tvām āmiso vidathe deva bhājayuh (II, 1, 4 d)  
bhājayuh is explained as "distributor of the portions to the gods" by V. MĀDHAVA, as "begetter of the fruits or good results" by SĀYANA, as "liberal" by GRIFFITH, "Anteil gewährt" by GELDNER who gives an alternate meaning "... oder: für die weisheitsrede belohnt". 'Vedic Index' infers that vidatha is used here in a secular sense. But it is possible that Agni is called a distributor of the oblations given by men among the gods like Amsa who is supposed to be a distributing god. In the other portions/....



portions of the verse comparisons are made with other gods, mentioning their characteristics. The inference as made by SHARMA (APII, 68) from this verse that vidatha as a primitive assembly had the function of distributing what the people "procured as food" is perfunctory. The verse VII, 40. 1 quoted by him for further evidence is also based on a misconception which is discussed under the study of vidathya (where the invokers would share the wealth that Savitr would give, no doubt indirectly, to them in lieu of their invocations.) OLDENBERG's meaning derived from vidhā "to distribute" etc. may be applicable here, but is not valid for many occurrences and it is aptly criticised by MAX MÜLLER (SBE XXXII, 110, 349)

(b) In the following instances vidatha is not evidently connected with any word of religious import.

(1) hinóti yádvām vidathe saparyánt

sá rātahavyo mānuṣo na hotā (I, 153, 3 cd)

Rāta havya according to SĀYANA is the name of a king, whereas according to the European scholars is not so and it denotes "one who presents oblation to gods." Even if it is not, the word saparyant signifying "he who worships" which gives vidathe, a religious significance. GELDNER of course translating rātahavya by "opfer spendend" gives the meaning of vidathe saparyant as "unter weiser Rede huldigend."

(2) yasmin devā vidathe mādāyante (X, 12, 7 a)

SĀYANA refers to Agni by yasmin and means to say that Indra and other gods delight themselves by oblations on account of Agni. GRIFFITH's construing is not clear who translates "They, in the Synod/...

Synod where the Gods rejoice themselves," and GELDNER probably connects yasmin with vidathe - in his translation "Bei welchem Opfer die Götter schwelgen." In any case vidatha is a cause of delight to the Gods.

(3) ádevayum vidathe devayúbhīh  
satráhatam somasútā janena (VII, 93, 5 cd)

GELDNER suggests that there may be a sacrifice contest between the godly and the ungodly people in his translation: "dann schlaget uir Opfer (Wettstreit) vor/ Ständig den Götterfeindlichen durch die Götterfreundlichen durch das somapressende Volk." Satra however according to GRASSMANN (WRV) is "zusammen mit". The word somasutā janena however suggests the connection of vidatha with religious rites.

(4) jāto jāyate sudinatvé áhnām  
samaryá ā vidathe vārdhamānah (III, 8, 5 ab)

Born in the auspicious time (the auspicious time in Rgveda is invariably termed "sudinatva ahnām" - "glückliche zeit" - GRASSMANN) the sacrificial host grows glorified in samarya vidatha - which according to GELDNER is "in the contest" but according to SĀYANA and GRIFFITH, manuṣyasahite yajñe or savane "in the men frequented synod." As it is said about the sacrificial host vidatha may be connected with religious rites.

(5) tvāmagne vrjināvartaniṁ nāram  
sākman piparsi vidathe vicarsane (I, 31, 6 ab)

SĀYANA gives the meaning of vidathe here as karmani not yajñe, SKANDA gives the meaning grhe, but V. MĀDHAVA renders vrjināvartaniṁ as sobhanamārgam which is according to SĀYANA and /.../

and SKANDA viplutamārgam sadācārarahitam and kūṭila-mārgam.

Thus SĀYANA and SKANDA explain almost similarly while according to V. MĀDHAVA sakman is yuddhe, but SĀYANA explains it as sacaniye samavetum yogye adjective to vidathe, i.e. Karmani and SKANDA derives sakman from "saca sevāyām" in the sense of devānām sevito sevyo vā. Thus according to SĀYANA, Agni is said to protect (pālayasi) or fulfil (pūrayasi) a man of not a good way of living in the work that is to be done together and according to SKANDA - Agni being addressed as serving and served by gods is called to protect that sort of man in the sacrificial hall. GELDNER in HOS XXXII translated differently from what he did in ZDMG (LII) and is probably near the true sense as he gives the meaning "Du Agni hilfst dem in der Freundschaft im Opfer auf krumme Wege geratenen Mann heraus du Ausgezeichneter ..." although he remarks that the line is "nicht ganz klar." GRIFFITH translating sakman as an object denoting "pursued" which cannot be correct concludes after the translation that "the vidatha, synod or sacrificial assembly seems to have been regarded as an inviolable asylum." But sakman seems to have the sense of "in the companionship" as also given by GRASSMANN (Geleit, Genossenschaft). But SĀYANA's meaning is interesting but instead of the meaning "Karmani" it would be better with a rendering "yajanakarmani" which is done together (with a religious sense.)

(6) svādhyo vidathe apsū jīhanan (I, 151, 1 b)

vidathe is explained by SĀYANA as yāge, is translated by GRIFFITH into "at the sacrifice." GELDNER's translation of this portion however/...

however is "in guter Absicht unter weiser Rede im Wasser erzeugten - " But this meaning would be convincing if vidathe would be instrumental. For it is not conceivable how anything is produced in or amidst wise speech. SĀYANA's meaning yāge can be justified if by performances (like sacrifices and mutterings of mantras) in the sacrifice (yāge) is produced fire in the sky for the rainwaters. SĀYANA elucidates apsu thus "antarikṣe vaidyuta rūpeṇa vartamānam / āpa ityantarikṣanāma" Hence vidatha here in all likelihood is the function of holy rites propitiatory to the gods.

(7) Samrājāvasya bhūvanasya rājatho  
mītrāvaruṇā vidathe swardrśā (V, 63, 2 ab)  
SĀYANA explains vidathe here as "in this our yajña" connected it with samrājau, GRIFFITH connects vidathe with rājathah, while GELDNER connects rājathah directly with asyabhūvanasya, but he is not definite about the connection of vidathe. SĀYANA's construing samrājau with vidathe is satisfactory as we find vidathyah samrāj in IV, 21, 2 and also vidathesu samrāj (in III, 55, 7 and III, 56, 5.) It may not be understood from these examples that vidatha was a court of the king emperor which was however not the meaning of samrāj in RV. It had the sense of ekarāj, the sole lord or the overlord, "Oberherr" (GRASSMANN). This verse is found repeated in MS. IV, 14, 12.

(8) antārmahē vidathe yetire narah (V, 59, 2 d)  
SĀYANA explains narah as netārah referring to the Maruts and antar as dyāvāprthivyor madhye, mahe as mahate havise havir-bhaksanāya and vidathe as yajñe. GRIFFITH's translation "... the/...



the heroes press between in mighty armament" may be due to mistake for "in firmament" as vidathe cannot evidently be translated by "in armament". GELDNER's translation is "... die Männer innerlich eifersüchtig auf die grosse Opfer Rede." MAX MÜLLER translates "The heroes who appear on their marches visible from afar strive together within the great assembly." GRASSMANN thinks that vidatha here denotes "Schaar der Gotter" because the Maruts are the gods of this hymn, and in 'Vedic Index' it has been opined that the assembly meant here was not religious but military. But it does not follow from here that vidathe denotes a military gathering. Rather antar satisfactorily denotes the firmament which is between the heaven and the sky and this may be considered a vidatha figuratively, as it is discussed later on how the heaven, the earth and the firmament are called the three vidathas. The basis of this metaphorical conception may be vidatha, a place of performing congregational religious practices, viz. sacrifice and others.

(c) There are some four instances of vidathe occurring in connection with number three.

(1) nū te pūrvasyāvaso ādhītau

tr̥tīye vidathe mānma śamsi (II, 4, 8 ab)

Here tr̥tīye vidathe is translated by GRIFFITH by "in the third assembly" - no contextual reference of which is found. GELDNER translates it into "dritten opfer." It is explained by SĀYANA as "tr̥tīye savane." In 'Vedic Index' this is said to be referring to the religious assembly. But the third time function of religious rite as suggested by SĀYANA and GELDNER seems to be more satisfactory.

(2) trīr ā divó vidathe (pātyamanah/santudevāḥ)

(III, 56, 5, 8 cd and III, 54, 11 ab)

Difference of interpretation lies mainly on the meaning ascribed to the word divah, GELDNER always gives the meaning "of the day" along with SĀYANA only in the first two occurrences. GRIFFITH on the other hand gives the meaning "from heaven" in all the occurrences. SĀYANA attributes this meaning in the third instance only. WILSON follows SĀYANA in the third instance and deviates from SĀYANA in the first while giving the same meaning "from heaven", but following SĀYANA in the second instance interpreting divah as "daily." Though interpretations differ in detail, in substance they are the same, that is, the gods come down in the daily sacrifices thrice. Vidathe here may be either the function or place of the religious rites. 'Vedic Index' is in favour of 'religious assembly.'

(3) trīṇi vrātā vidathe amṭāreṣām (II, 27, 86)

SĀYANA suggests two meanings, (1) There are three duties viz. the three savanas in our vidatha i.e. sacrifice, (2) There are three functions of these Ādityas viz. taking up holding and releasing the water amidst these regions (eṣām lokānām antar) for vidatha or sacrifice. WILSON translates SĀYANA literally, but comments "The expression is rather obscure." GELDNER translates "die drei Gebote sind in ihrem Wissenbereich." But nothing is known of the three orders belonging to the "Wissenbereich" or the threefold functions of "the assembly" as said by GRIFFITH. SĀYANA's meaning savana-traya can be accepted, but for his second meaning, the purposive use of the locative/...

locative of vidathe (yajñe ni mittabhūte sati) can be called unusual.

(4) trīni rājānā vidathe purūni

pāri viśvāni bhūṣathah śādāmsi // (III, 38, 6 ab)

śādāmsi according to SĀYANA is savanāni and vidathe is yajñe.

V. MĀDHAVA's meaning is also on the same line. GELDNER gives the etymological meaning "in Weisheit" but the three seats which might be locked in the wisdom of the said gods are not known.

GRIFFITH renders "Three seats ye sovran, in the holy Synod, many, Yea all ye honour with your presence," and comments "The three seats are heaven, the firmament or mid-air and earth.

The poet appears to mean by the words that follow that no place of sacrifice is duly consecrated unless these gods are present."

If this is so, vidatha has the figurative expansion of meaning from "the earthly religious assembly" to "the cosmos."

(d) A pair of instances of vidathe occurring with words compounded with vāc may be considered together.

(1) jesma pūrūm vedathe mṛdhra-vācam (VII, 18, 13 d)

(2) somamādo vidathe dudhra-vācaḥ (VII, 21, 2, b)

Although GELDNER translates vidathe in both the instances by "bei dem Opfer", SĀYANA explains the former vidathe as yuddhe and the latter as yajñe. GRIFFITH also connecting the former with jesma translates: "May we in sacrifice conquer scornful Pūru" and connecting the latter with dudhra-vācaḥ he translates the second instance into "... these Soma drinkers eloquent in Synod." Mṛdhra-vāc is generally said of the inimical peoples the /...

the Dasyus "anāso dāsyūr amṛno vadhēna nī duryonā āvrñān  
mr̥dhṛāvācaḥ" (V, 29, 10 cd); apādam atrām mahatā vadhēna nī  
duryonā āvrñān mr̥dhṛāvācam (V, 32, 8 cd); nyākratūn grathīno  
mr̥dhṛāvācaḥ pañīr āsraddhā' avṛdhā' ayajñān (VII, 6, 3 ab);  
yō vācā vīvāco mr̥dhṛāvācaḥ purū sahasrāsivā jaghāna (X, 23, 5 ab);  
dāno viśa indra mr̥dhṛāvācaḥ sapta yāt pūrah śarma śāradir dāt  
(I, 174, 2 ab). SĀYANA explains the word in many places as  
himsita-vacaska. These examples and the word mr̥dhra as in  
purāgne duritebhyah purā mr̥dhrēbhyah (VIII, 43, 30) denoting  
"injury" or the like, and also as ghnān mr̥dhrāni āpa dvīśas  
(VIII, 43, 26) denoting "enemy" (the concrete meaning) and the  
verb mr̥dh used in many places in RV. in the sense of "let one  
down," "ignore," "leave," or "to be indolent" may suggest the  
meaning of mr̥dhṛāvācaḥ to be those who speak hostile and injur-  
:ious words. Pūru an adversary of Sudās the patron of Vasiṣṭha  
the seer of the Mandala VII, is here called mr̥dhṛāvāc. If an  
emphasis is laid on the element vāc in mr̥dhṛāvāc, vidathe  
suggests to be a place where contests in words take place, where  
there is a scope for conquering the word-assailant Pūru by  
Vasiṣṭha and his men. Otherwise vidathe suggests "in battle,"  
but dudhṛāvācaḥ with soma mādah probably suggests people speaking  
obstinately or irrelevantly, being drunk with Soma drink, and  
the two instances can be tagged together to give the meaning  
of vidatha as a place or a function of religious rites of people  
belonging to various parties (may be in word contest) assembling  
and there Soma drinking was the practice possibly being a part  
of the religious function.

There/...



There are two more instances of vidathe in connection with the verb "to speak."

(3) prā vaksyāmo vidathe vīryāni (I, 162, 1 d)

(4) brhad vadema vidathe suvīrah (II, 1, 16; 2, 13, 11,

21; 13, 13; 14, 12; 15, 10; 16, 9; 17, 9; 18, 9;

19, 9; 20, 9; 23, 19; 24, 16; 27, 17; 28, 11; 29, 7;

33, 15; 35, 15; 39, 8; 40, 6; 42, 3; 43, 3.)

The former instance occurs in the first verse of the hymn of eulogy of the horse. GRIFFITH translates vidathe by "amid the congregation" and GELDNER by "in weiser Rede", while SĀYANA interprets it as vedanasādhane yajñe. YĀSKA also in Nir. IX, 3 renders vidathe to yajñe. V. MĀDHAVA also explains it as yajñe and SKANDASVĀMIN explains it as yajñe āsvamedhādan. This is repeated in TS. IV, 6, 8, 1; MS. III, 16, 1; KS. XLVI, 4 (where it is vāryāni for vīryāni) and SĀYANA explains the word by the same in TS.

(11) The whole verse is: vidathesu occurs (a) definitely in connection

with sacrifice mā no mitrō vārune aryamāyur indra rbhuksā marūtaḥ

in connection with any religious matter excluding pārikhyan /

verb meaning "to" yadvājino devājātasya sapteḥ pravaksyāmo vidathe

(a) (1) vidathe vīryāni //

It shows that the general practice is to sing the laudations of gods in Vidatha but as the seer is going "to declare the virtues of the strong steed" here, he prays to the gods not to slight him and his men for this.

The latter instance is the peculiar refrain of GRTSAMADA

the seer of most of the hymns in the second Mandala where

YĀSKA explains it in Nir. I, 7 as brhadvadema sve vedanasādhani

mahato brhad brhad brhad and DURGA annotates vidathe

yajñe / athavā āsvamedha

twenty-two hymns close with this. With the general meaning of vajñe given by SĀYANA (once in II, 27, 17 he gives the meaning vajñe gr̥he) one can explain the line. But GRIFFITH translates it by "in (the) assembly" and GELDNER by "in der weisen Rede." For "br̥had vadema"<sup>1</sup> the rendering of SĀYANA is br̥hanmantrajātām uccārayāma or "prabhūtam stotram vrayāma" or prabhūtam sastrādikan vākyaṃ vadema" and that of GRIFFITH is "may we speak aloud" and that of GELDNER is "Wir möchten (wollen) das grosse wort führen." LUDWIG translates the quoted passage thus: "Laut mögen wir sprechen mit guten helden in der opfersammlung," and BERGAIGNE translates "puissions nous en parlant à voix haute dans l'assemblée obtenir de bons héros." OLDENBERG translates "May we speak loud in the assembly, rich in valiant men." BLOOMFIELD of course criticises this rendering of Suvīrah to "rich in valiant men" instead of having strong sons.

(ii) Similarly the word vidathesu occurs (a) definitely in connection with sacrifice or religious rites, then (b) without any apparent connection with any religious matter excluding instances connected with verb meaning "to speak" which are considered (c) in a separate group.

(a) (1) tvāmidātṛa vṛnate tvāyāvo  
hótāram agne vidathesu vedhāsah (X, 91, 9 ab)

According to SĀYANA, the R̥tvijs pray for Agni the Hotṛ to be present in the vidathas, where vṛnate is interpreted as prāsthayante which according to GRIFFITH and GELDNER "elect." GELDNER/...

<sup>1</sup> YĀSKA explains it in Nir I, 7 as "br̥hadvadema sve vedane br̥haditi mahato nāma d̥heyaṃ parivṛdham bhavati" and DURGA annotates "vidathe vajñe / athavā svegr̥he"

GELDNER connects vidathesu with vidhasah and gives the etymological meaning of vidatha 'die Meister in den Weisheitsreden.' GRIFFITH's construing of hotāram with vidathesu and the meaning "... the arrangers, those attached to thee elect thee as their priest in sacred gatherings" is not warranted by any cogent reasons, on the other hand it leads one to confusion that in vidathas election of hotr-ship was the practice.

(2) nī tvā vāsisthā ahumta vājīnam

gr̥nānto agne vidāthesu vedhasah (S, 122, 8, ab)

GELDNER translates vidathesu vedhasah by "die Meister/in weisen Reden (In ZDMG (LII)). GELDNER seems to be inclined to the meaning, "die gelehrten in der Genossenschaft." GRASSMANN's "huld voll Fürsorger oder Ordner" for vedhasah in connection with vidathesu seems however to be near to SĀYANA's vājñesu karma-vidhātaraḥ. In this instance, they appear to be singing preparatory hymns. GRIFFITH also more or less agrees with this meaning.

(3) yāyorha stōme vidāthesu devāḥ

saparyāvo mādāyante sacāyoh // (III, 54, 2, cd)

Here evidently in vidathas (vidathesu) the gods are found to be lauded and worshipped. GRIFFITH however translates the word by "Synods", GELDNER, by "bei den Opfern."

(4) rare vām stōmam vidāthesu viṣṇo

pinvatam iṣo vrjānesv indra // (VII, 99, 6, cd)

Laudations are given jointly to the two gods but singly to Viṣṇu specially in vidathas, prayers are made to both for bounty of food/...

food but to Indra specially in vrjanas ('bamps" GRIFFITH,  
"saṅgrāma-s V. MĀDHAVA and SĀYANA,) GELDNER translates the  
line quite differently: "Ich habe euch in weisen Worten den  
Lobgesang gewidmet, o Viṣṇu. Lasset bei den (Opfer) parteien  
die Speisegenüsse anschwellen, O Indra." But he could as well  
translate vidathesu by "bei den Opfern" as the previous one  
which he suggests in the footnote "Die weisen Worten" would  
perhaps be suitable if it was Instrumental.

(5) pṛa dyāvā yajñaiḥ prthivī rtāvṛdhā  
māhī stuse vidathesu prācetasā / (I, 159, 1)

SĀYANA's rendering of vidathesu as yāgesu is difficult to  
justify in view of the presence of yajñaiḥ in the same line.  
He connects yajñaiḥ with rtāvṛdhā in the sense of yāgais  
tatpradānair nimittabhūtair havispradānārtham. V. MĀDHAVA's  
renderings of yajñaiḥ and rtāvṛdhā as yajñaiḥ saha and udakasya  
vardhayitryanu appear to be more convincing. GRIFFITH gives a  
new meaning of vidathesu here i.e. "at festivals", but it is  
not very satisfactory. GELDNER's "in der Weisheit" can explain  
the passage well. But we can also explain thus with the usual  
meaning of vidatha, viz. the function of congregational reli-  
gious rites including sacrifices, with reference to the next  
instance: "I (i.e. we) go to praise Earth and Heaven, the two  
great, the promoters of Rta (rtāvṛdhā) with sacrifices (yajñaiḥ)  
who are wise in the functions of vidatha (vidathesu prācetasā)

(6) āmūro hotā nyasādi vikṣu-  
agnir mandrō vidathesu prācetaḥ (IV, 6, 2, ab)

Here vidathesu prācetaḥ is according to V. MĀDHAVA yajñesu  
prakṛstajñānah. and /...



and according to SĀYANA is "...prakṛṣṭajñānah.... yāgeṣu nimittabhūteṣu ..." SĀYANA assumes the connection of vidathesu with nyasādi in the sense of ṛitarām Stvāpitaḥ. GELDNER construes like V. MĀDHAVA, but vidathesu, he translates by "in Weisheit," pracetaḥ by "erfahrene." GRIFFITH seems to connect mamdraḥ with vidathesu as he translates the line into "He was set down mid men as Priest unerring, Agni, wise, welcome in our holy synods."

(7) sthūrāśya rāyo brható yá íśe tamu stavāma MĀDHAVA  
have not given Sanskrit vidathesu indram / (IV, 21, 4 ab)

Here vidatha-s are mentioned where Indra is glorified. SĀYANA as usual explains it as yajñesu and GRIFFITH translates it by assemblies. It may mean either - places or the functions of holy rites. GELDNER's "in weisen Reden" is not suitable in the Locative case.

(8) nrpésaso vidathesu prā jātā in RV. In III, 26, 6 d  
abhiṁam yajñam ví carama pūrvīḥ (III, 4, 5, cd)

This line contains a praise to the gates of the sacrifice and here both yajña and vidatha occur, and they are in all likelihood not synonymous as SĀYANA and V. MĀDHAVA explain vidatha as yajña. But the two may not be absolutely exclusive either (as SHARMA assumes, APII, 71) GELDNER translates "sie ziehen zu diesem Opfer ein durch die vielen (Tore), die Männerfigur haben und bei den Opfern den Vorang bekommen." GRIFFITH's rendering of vidathesu as "at assemblies" creates no difficulty, but the nature of the assemblies is to be determined. In this instance it is said that the gods presiding over the gates of sacrifices came/...

came into being in the vidatha and now let them come to preside over this sacrifice.

(9) kṛtam no yajñam vidathesu carum

kṛtam brahmāṇi sūriṣu prasastā (VII, 84, 3, ab)

Here SĀYANA gives the equivalent of vidathesu as gr̥hesu as the word occurs with yajñam. The parallel construction of the two parts is notable and in GRIFFITH's translation it is made clear: "Make ye our sacrifice fair amid the assemblies: make ye our prayers approved among our princes." SĀYANA and V. MĀDHAVA have not given satisfactory explanations as they explain sūriṣu as stotr̥su (asm̐asu). GELDNER also translates: "Machet unser Opfergebet der Kennerschaft genehm, machet unsere feier lichen Reden bei den Lohnherrn gutgeheissen!" Thus a good sacrifice in vidathas is always desired as good pieces of eulogy to the gods are appreciated.

(10) vidathesu dhīrāḥ occurs twice in RV. In III, 26, 6 d gāmtāro yajñam vidathesu dhīrāḥ where the word yajñam occurs beside vidathesu and SĀYANA once again explains vidathesu as yajñesu and yajñam as yajaniyam havirabhilakṣya which does not appear satisfactory. GRIFFITH and GELDNER find no difficulty as they translate the word vidathesu by "at our gatherings" and "in der Weisheit" respectively. Like SĀYANA, GRIFFITH also does not connect dhīrāḥ with vidathesu, but GELDNER does - while translating the piece into "Sie kommen zum Opfer Kundig in der Weisheit." ROTH however takes vidathesu here in the military sense.

(11) In III, 28, 4 again vidathesu dhīrāḥ occurs

agne/...

(14) agne yahvāsyā tāva bhāgadheyaṃ

nā prā minamti vidāthesu dhīrāḥ // (cd)

SĀYANA explains vidāthesu dhīrāḥ as vajñesu karmakusālāḥ adhvaryvādayaḥ and it is translated by GELDNER into "die in der (Opfer-) kunde erfahrenen" and by GRIFFITH into "the sages in assemblies."

(12) apó ná dhīro mānasā subāstyo

gīrah sāmamje vidāthesu ābhuvāḥ // (I, 64, 1 cd)

Regarding vidātha SĀYANA, V. MĀDHAVA, SKANDA on the one hand and GRIFFITH AND GELDNER on the other, give almost the same meaning "vajña / solemn rite / Opfer". Vidāthesv ābhuvāḥ is "efficacious in sacred rites" (WILSON following SĀYANA) "Zum Opfer dienlichen" (GELDNER) "that hath power in solemn rites" (GRIFFITH.)

(13) pīnvanty apó marútāḥ sudānavāḥ

pāyo ghṛtāvad vidāthesv ābhuvāḥ (I, 64, 6, ab)

vidāthesv ābhuvāḥ according to SĀYANA is "the priests at sacrifices, as WILSON following him translates "The munificent Maruts scatter the nutritious waters at priests at sacrifices the clarified butter." But in MAX MÜLLER's translation the meaning of SĀYANA in the previous instance is retained: "The bounteous Maruts pour forth water mighty at sacrifices ("efficacious" in the last instance) the fat milk (of the clouds)." GELDNER giving the same meaning of vidāthesv ābhuvāḥ as before comments on it: "meist auf die Marut bezogen (So Schon SĀYANA), besser auf die Gewässer (So M. Müller a.a.O. 106) Das Wasser wird ja zum Soma opfer benötigt." The concept of "sacrifice" however is present in the word vidātha in everyone's interpretation.

(14) /...

- (14) ímdhano akro vidathesu didyac  
-chukravarnām udu no yamsate dhiyam // (I, 143, 7, cd)

GELDNER gives the meaning of vidatha as "Opfer" agreeing with SĀYANA. But GRIFFITH translates the word into "gathering" where Agni is said to be "refulgent" and thus means by it "the sacrificial gathering." LUDWIG also understands vidathesu as "bei den Opfern."

- (15) prā skambhādesnā anavabhrārādhaso  
'lātrnāso vidathesu sūstutāh / (I, 166, 7, ab)

GRIFFITH and GELDNER connect vidathesu with sūstutāh, GRIFFITH translating by "at sacrifices glorified" and GELDNER translating by "die in weisen Reden gefeierten," but SĀYANA seems to connect vidathesu which is yāgesu with arkam i.e. arcanīyam, the adjective of Indra in the next line. But that makes no difference with the meaning of vidatha which appears to be "a sacrifice" or better "the function of religious rites."

- (16) anākti yād vām vidathesu hotā  
sumnam vām sūrīr vṛṣanā vīyaksan (I, 153, 2, cd)

SĀYANA connects vidathesu with hotā, meaning "yajñesu homanīḥ : pādakah ayam adhvaryuh". It does not disagree much with GRIFFITH or GELDNER who translate the first line respectively into: "As the priest deck you, Strong ones in assemblies" and "wenn der Hotr euch unter weisen Reden salbt."

- (17) Svarum nā pēso vidathesvamjan  
citram divo duhitā bhānum āśret // (I, 92, 5, cd)

It is said about Usas. WILSON following SĀYANA translates: "She (Usas) annoints her beauty (nabhasi .... samsliṣṭām karoti) as/...



as the priests annoint the sacrificial food (mistaken for "post") (svaru nāmnā sakalena yuktaṁ yūpaṁ) in sacrifices ...." Thus with vidathesu is connected svaruṁ na not only by SĀYANA but also by GRIFFITH and GELDNER. V. MĀDHAVA explains vidathesu as grhesu which is not so satisfactory.

(18) asmākam adya vidathesu barhīr

ā vātaye sadata pipriyānāḥ // (VII, 57, 2, cd)

GRIFFITH translates, "Seat you on sacred grass in our assembly this day ..." where "the assembly" is given a religious significance as the sacred grass is spread for the seat of the God. GELDNER also translates similarly only in place of GRIFFITH's assembly he has "zu unsern weisen Reden." GRIFFITH agrees generally with the explanations of SĀYANA and V. MĀDHAVA only in place of yajnesu he has "in our assembly."

(19) pracodayantā vidathesu kārū (X, 110, 7, c)

The reference is to daivya hotārā in the first line who are Agni and Āditya according to SĀYANA. They are designated further as "mimānā yajñam mānuṣo yajadhyai" ("arranging sacrifice for man to worship" - GRIFFITH) in part (b) and prācīnam jyōtūḥ pradīśā disāntā ("showing the eastward light with their direction" - GRIFFITH) in part (d). Hence in the verse the two are said to be the divine Hotrs, arrangers of sacrifices, and directors to light the Āhavanīya fire and the inspirers in vidathas and singers of hymns (which is the explanation of SĀYANA and GRIFFITH also.) Hence vidatha might be certain functions connected with the religious rites to which the bards inspire. GELDNER translates "die beiden zu weisen Reden anregenden Dichter," and here his/...

his etymological meaning is suitable. But more suitable may be the meaning of some religious function other than sacrifice or fixing the site of the Āhavanīya fire etc. probably comprising the invocations to which the divine bards inspire. 7, 6)

(b) vidathesu without any apparent connection with religious terms is to be examined in the following instances more carefully:

(1) sá revān yāti prathamó rāthena

vasudāvā vidathesu prasastah (II, 27, 12, cd)

SĀYANA explains vidathesu yāti as vedyesu labdhavyesu -grhesu yāti, thus making another etymological meaning<sup>1</sup>. But it is not clear. Vidathesu prasastah should in all likelihood be construed together as done by the European scholars, which is rendered by GRIFFITH as "landed in assemblies" and by GELDNER as "in weisen Reden gepriesen" which is not very suitable in respect of a human being. GRIFFITH's meaning seems to be suitable, but it cannot be said with all definiteness that vidatha has the secular meaning here as said by ROTH (vide 'Vedic Index' S.V.)

(2) tvāmāsi prasāsyo vidathesu sahintya /

agne rathīr adhvarānām // (VIII, 11, 2)

Here also vidathesu is connected with prasasyah. SĀYANA explains yajñesu stutyō'si. GRIFFITH translates "thou must be glorified at our festivals." GELDNER however connects vidathesu with sahintya in his translation "Du bist zu preisen, du an Weisheit überlegener." On the other hand SĀYANA's rendering "he sahintya śatpīnām abhībhavītaḥ agne vidathesu yajñesu tvam prasasyah stutyah asi / adhvarānām yāgānām rathīr netā ca bhavasi" seems quite /...

<sup>1</sup> In X, 110, 7 vidantyatratrtvijah sva sva karmānīti vidathā yajñāh

quite satisfactory except that vidathesu should be something more than yajñesu. It may denote the function of various laudations.

(3) śubhāmyāvāno vidāthesu yāgmayah (I, 89, 7, b)

It is said about the Maruts. śubhāmyāvānah is explained by SĀYANA as sobhanagatayah, by V. MĀDHAVA as udakam prati gantārah, by SKANDA as śubhamityudakam / tadartham meghānpratigantārah /.

With this meaning of V. MĀDHAVA and SKANDA we notice that the Maruts ready to go to the clouds for bringing out water are goers to vidathas. This meaning however cannot be definitely clear. GRIFFITH translates it by "moving in glory, oft visiting holy rites." GELDNER translates: "die prunkvoll ausfahrenden, die gern zu den weisen Reden kommen," where his etymological meaning does not seem to be very apt. The plural form of vidathesu and the intensive form of yāgmayah are to be noticed, whereby they are called frequently going into the vidathas. The verse is repeated in KS. XXXV, 1.

(4) mādanti vīrā vidāthesu ghr̥ṣvayah (I, 85, 1, d)

This is also said about the Maruts. GRIFFITH translates - in sacrifices, they delight the strong and the wild. GELDNER translates "die Männer berauschen sich an den weisen Reden daranff begierig." MACDONELL in 'Vedic Reader' translates "The impetuous heroes rejoice in rites of worship." vīrāh and ghr̥ṣvayah are the epithets of the Maruts and sums up "somapānena hr̥ṣyanti."

(5) vidathesu ghr̥ṣvayah is found once again nītyam nā sūnūm mādhu bibhrata

upa krīlamti krīlā vidāthesu ghr̥ṣvayah (I, 166, 2 ab)

Here/.../...

Here vidathesu ghr̥ṣvayah is explained by SĀYANA and V. MĀDHAVA as yāgesu (yajñesu) rakṣaḥ prabhṛtīnām (vr̥kṣādīnām) gharṣaṇśīlah, but upakrīlantikṇṭa seems to make the sense secular. On the other hand madhu bibhṛata before it which is explained by SĀYANA as madhuraṁ havirdhārayanto marutaḥ and the word namasvinam and haviṣkṛtam again suggests a religious import. GRIFFITH's translation is: "Bringing the pleasant meath as 'twere their own dear son they sport in sportive wise gay at their gatherings," which is without any religious significance and is acceptable. GELDNER's translation is not very convincing. Here he translates vidathesu ghr̥ṣvayah by "auf die (worte der) Weisheitungs-geduldig wartend." ROTH's suggestion that vidatha is military here, is based on no convincing evidence.

(6) āsthāpayanta yuvatīm yuvānaḥ

śubhe nimīṣtam vidathesu pajrām (I, 167, 6, ab)

By yuvatīm SĀYANA means nityataninīm vā vidyudrūpām rodasyām striyam, and V. MĀDHAVA means vācam. śubhe is explained by the former as vr̥ṣtyudakārtham, śubhe ratha iti vā yojyam by the latter. Also udake - vidathesu is explained by both as yajñesu but SĀYANA explains it further as nimittabhūtesu with which is connected āsthāpayanta. GRIFFITH translates "Upon their car the young men set the Maiden wedded to glory, mighty in assemblies." GELDNER translates vidathesu pajrām by "die dem Prunkzugetane, in weisen "eden feste." If the maiden is the lightning, how can we call it "Mighty in assemblies" or how can we call its roaring firm in wise speech? Pajrām is explained by V. MĀDHAVA as pajrakuta-jātām. Accepting SĀYANA's balavatīm for it, V. MĀDHAVA's rendering/...



rendering may be considered satisfactory i.e. the Maruts the ever-young male ones placed the speech the ever-young Maidens, mighty in the vidathas, attached well to the water.

vidathesu followed by samrāt is found on two occasions.

(7) trī sadhāsthā simdhavastriḥ kavīnām of vocative.

(2) utā trimātā vidathesu samrāt / (III, 56, 5, ab)

(8) dvimātā hotā vidathesu samrāt // (IV, 36, 5, cd)

V. MĀDHAVA ānvagram carati kṣeti budhnāḥ (III, 55, 7, ab)

No satisfactory explanation can be given if according to the European scholars we take the words dvimātā and trimātā as "the child of two mothers" and "of three mothers", and samrāt "the King emperor." There may be a pun with the word mātā but the etymological sense "measurer" is chiefly intended. Trimātā is Sūrya, "Sun, the measurer of the three regions," dvimātā is Agni. Samrāt is the "sole lord" or "overlord" and both the gods are said to be the sole lord over the vidathas which may be the religious functions. ever celebrate at sacred rites ... the

explo (9) vayām samarye vidathesu ahnām they is "in sacred

Synods," vayām rāyā sahasasputra mātān (V, 3, 6, cd) Both

The connecting verb anticipated by V. MĀDHAVA is "abhibhavema,"

by SĀYANA, "prāpnuyāma." SĀYANA is also ready to attach the

verb vanuyāma in the first line to the second line and vanuyāma

according to V. MĀDHAVA is prayacchemahi and according to SĀYANA

is satrūn pīdayāma sambhajemahi vā dhanam. Samarye is clearly

"in the battle." As suggested by GELDNER we can explain the

line thus: "May we outbid the other mortals in contest in the

daily vidathas by means of riches."

(111) (c) /...

(iii) (c) Vidathesu connected with verb "to speak."

(1) tāmīd vocema vidathesu sambhūvam

māmtram devā anehāsam / (I, 40, 6, ab)

All the interpreters attribute religious nature to vidatha here probably on account of mantra being the object of vocema.

(2) vibhvataṣṭō vidathesu pravācyo

yam devāso'vathā sā vicarsanīḥ // (IV, 36, 5, cd)

V. MĀDHAVA says it is about the rayi, mentioned in the first line, that all these are said but SĀYANA considers it to be vibhvavirṛṣibhibtastati takṣanasampannaścamaso'svino ratho vā which are praised in the vidathas. GRIFFITH supports it, but GELDNER translates vidathesu pravācyah by "in weisen Reden zu rühmende" which is suitable in the present instance.

(3) yā co nū nāvya kṛṇavah savīṣṭha

prēdu tā te vidathesu bravāma (V, 29, 13, cd)

SĀYANA explains: "... tāni vīryāṇi vajñesu praiva vadāma" which WILSON translates by "we ever celebrate at sacred rites ... the exploits." According to GRIFFITH vidathesu is "in sacred Synods," and according to GELDNER is "in weiser Rede." Both the meanings are suitable.

(4) asnītam mādho asvinā upākā

ā vām voce vidathesu prayasvān // (VII, 73, 2, cd)

GRIFFITH translates, "With food I call you to the sacrifices," which agrees with SĀYANA's explanation: "... vajñesu .. yuvām .. āhvaye." GELDNER as usual translates vidathesu by "bei weisen Reden" which also suits the context.

(2) divah bastasur vidathas kavīṇam

(iii) /... grīṣāva cīttavase sātumīṣam // (VIII, 1, 2, cd)

Here/...

(iii) There is one instance of vidathe which is Nominative dual in the Padapāṭha, but SĀYANA explains it as Locative Singular:

agnīr devā anaktu na ubhe hi vidathekavir

amṛāscarati dūtyam nabhamtām anyaké same //

nabhamtām anyake same is a refrain in this hymn. So there are three ideas in the extract according to SĀYANA, "Let agni annoint the gods in our vidatha i.e. sacrifice"; "the great seer Agni moves on errand between the two (ubhe), heaven and earth"; and "may he injure all the enemies." But according to 'Pada pāṭha' ubhe hi vidathe may be taken as a separate idea, i.e. two are the vidathas. In that case the sky and the earth become the two vidathas. GRIFFITH translates: "... Between both gathering places he goes ..." and GELDNER's translation is similar: "... zwischen den beiden geleiterten Ständen."

(iv) The word vidathā occurs in a few instances:

(1) yātrā suparnā amṛtasya bhāgam

ānimesam vidathā bhisvaramti / (I, 164, 21, ab)

SĀYANA explains vidathā here as instrumental in the sense of vedanena jñānena i.e. with the idea that we have to do this. WILSON translates "Where the smooth-gliding (rays), cognizant (of their duty) distil the perpetual portion of ambrosial (water)." GELDNER's translation "nach weisheit schreien" is very near to SĀYANA's. YĀSKA also in 'Nirukta' III, 12 explains vidathāni as vedanāni. In DURGA's explanation of 'Nirukta' we find further exposition of SĀYANA's asmābhiḥ kartavyam i.e. the duty of taking up holding and releasing water and similar duties. GRIFFITH's translation is confused.

(2) divāh śasāsū vidathā kavīnām

grtsāya cittavase gātumīsuḥ // (III, 1, 2, cd)

Here/...

Here vidathā is the accusative plural (Neuter) and according to SĀYANA is jñānāni stotrāni vā. GELDNER's translation almost agrees with SĀYANA's - "Des Himmels (Scher) haben die weisen Reden der Scher angeleitet."

(3) āvīr rjīko vidathā nicikyāt

tiró aratīm paryāpa āyoh //(IV, 38, 4, cd)

V. MĀDHAVA and SĀYANA give the meaning of vidathā as jñātavyāni. But as it is said with regard to the Dadhikrās, GRIFFITH's translation "Shown in bright colour, looking on the assemblies, beyond the churl, to worship of the living" is acceptable. But <sup>if</sup> nicikyāt denotes jānan as given by SĀYANA and V. MĀDHAVA, the explanation of SĀYANA as given roughly by WILSON in his translation "Whose vigour is manifest who understanding what is to be, known, puts to shame the adversary of the (pious) man" seems better with GELDNER's translation very near to it (die weisen worte verstehend ...)

(4) agnīstrīni tridhādhātun्य ā kseti vidathā kavīh (VIII, 39, 9 ab)

SĀYANA gives the meaning vedanīyāni sthānāni with ākseti as āvasti.

GELDNER translates ākseti by "besitzet" and vidathā by "erkenntnisse."

GRIFFITH translates "inhabith the gathering places." We can remember however the instances of vidathe occurring in connection with number three where it has been seen that the religious assemblages were held thrice a day.

(5) In prā nū vocam vidathā jātavedasah (VI, 8, 1)

vidathā is yajñe according to SĀYANA, pravocam having its object Sahas in the sense of valam abhibhava-Samartham of Agni. (the preceding line being:

"prksāsya vṛṣṇo aruśāsya nū sāhah )

GELDNER/...



GELDNER interprets vidathā as accusative plural but he remarks in his note that it may be instrumental singular, "die weisheit" or "mit weisheit" both being satisfactory.

(6) tvām hōtā mamdratāmo no adhrūg (I, 91, 8, ab)

amtārdevō vidathā mārtyesu / (VI, 11, 2, ab)

Agni is the hotr in the vidatha(s) among men as understood by all interpreters except GELDNER who takes vidathā as accusative plural neuter with the transitive verb "brings about" - understood (GRIFFITH says that he follows LUDWIG in taking vidathā as an old Genitive plural and not vidathe as SĀYANA does.)

(v) (1) vidathasya ketum in

vāhniṃ yaśāsam vidathasya ketum (I, 60, 1, a)

is explained by SĀYANA as yajñasya prakāśayitāram, by GRIFFITH as "banner of sacrifice," by GELDNER as "das Banner des Opfers" referring to Agni.

(2) ketum yajñānām vidathasya sādhanam

viprāso agniṃ mahayanto cittibhiḥ (III, 3, 3, ab)

Here vidathasya sādhanam occurring beside yajñānām ketum which denotes "yajñānām prajñāpakam" (SĀYANA) is explained as yajñasya grhasya vā prāptisādhanam asādhārāṇakāraṇam santam (SĀYANA.) GRIFFITH and GELDNER however give their usual meanings for vidatha distinguishing it from yajña, "ensign of sacrifices" - "who fills the synod full"/ "das Banner der Opfer" - "den Erwirker von weisheit."

(3) imāmanjaspām ubhāye akr̥nvata

dharmaṇam agniṃ vidathasya sādhanam (X, 92, ab)

Here vidathasya sādhanam is explained by SĀYANA as yajñasya sādhayitāram and/...

and GRIFFITH translates "who completes the sacrifices," and GELDNER "wirker des Opfers," thus all agreeing on the whole.

(4) medhākārām vidāthasya prasādhanaṁ although we have seen  
agnim hōtāram paribhūtamam matim (/ , 91, 8, ab)

SĀYANA explains vidathasya prasādhakam which is adjective to agnim as yajñasya prakarsena sādhanam and is translated by GRIFFITH into "who fills the assembly full," and by GELDNER into "die weisheits rede zustande bringt" making very little difference with vidathasya sādhanam. This is repeated in KS. XXXIX, 13 and TB. III, 11, 6, 3.

(5) pātim daksasya vidāthasya nū sāho (I, 56, 2, c)

SĀYANA renders it into pravṛddhasya yajñasya pālayitāram valavantam indram, GRIFFITH into "To him the Lord of power. the holy synods' might" wherein vidathasya is drawn with sāho while daksasya is connected with pātim. GELDNER translates "Zum Herrn der Kraftsteig mit der weisheit Macht."

(6) In III, 38, 5, c, dīvo napātā vidāthasya dhībhiḥ, vidathasya is explained by SĀYANA as yajña-Kārinah stotuh but in other instances he holds the meaning of vidatha as yajña. So the name of the action standing for the actor is doubtful for the Vedic expression GRIFFITH's "by hymns of sacrifice" and GELDNER's "übet im Geiste der Weisheit." In 'Vedic Index' however vidatha here is called to be secular.

(7) In V, 33, 9, b. krātvā maghāso vidāthasya rātau, is explained by SĀYANA as karmanā śighra gamanādilakṣaṇena mahanyā asvāḥ dāne viniyuktāḥ, GRIFFITH translating it into "bestowed as sacrificial guerdon." GELDNER's translation into "unter der Ehrengabe des Vidatha" helps us little to find out the true sense of vidatha. It/...

It seems "bestowal" of horses is a function of vidatha.

(vi) Vidathāni is found on several occasions, although we have seen vidathā is also used in the same sense in certain instances.

(1) veda yāstrīni vidathānyeṣām

devānām jānma sanutarā ca viprāḥ (VI, 51, 2, ab)

SĀYANA explains vidathāni as veditavyāni sthānām the adjective trīni is also notable, which GRIFFITH understands to be "three ranks and orders" - but according to SĀYANA they are the three stations of the gods, the earth of the Vasus, the firmament of the Rudras and the heaven of the Ādityas. GELDNER translates the former part, "Der dreifache Kunde von ihnen ..... kennt ...." which is also suitable. But GRIFFITH's meaning is weakly founded.

(2) bahāvah sūracaksaso'gni jihvā rtā-vṛdhah

trīni yē yemur vidathāni dhītibhir viśvāni paribhūtibhiḥ

(VII, 66, 10)

Here trīni vidathāni viśvāni is explained by SĀYANA as trīni ... vyāptāni ... ksityādīsthānāni. GRIFFITH translates the second line into "They who direct the three great gatherings with their thoughts, yea, all things with surpassing might," and GELDNER translates the trīni ... vidathāni by "die drei Erkenntnisse." One differs from the other in the meaning of vidatha here. LUDWIG suggests that here the three castes Brāhmana, Rājanya and Vaisya. But we cannot be sure of any meaning here.

(3) nī duronē amṛto mārtyānām

rājā sasāda vidathāne sādhan (III, 1, 18, ab)

Here according to SĀYANA duronē is grhe, vidadhāni sādhan as yajñān sādhan which accords with GELDNER's interpretation. GRIFFITH's meaning/...

meaning of "sacred synods" seems to be not quite suitable here because already the word durone (in the house) is there ("within the house hath sate the King Immortal of mortals, filling full their sacred synods.") Agni is thus the performer of vidathas in the house.

(4) hótā devó ámartyah purástāditi mayáyā /  
vidāthāni pracódayan // (III, 27, 7)

V. MĀDHAVA explains vidathāni as prajñānāny rtvijām. SĀYANA explains it as veditavyāni karmāni. YĀSKA ('Nirukta' VI, 7) explains it as vedana which is according to DURGA, the commentator, "eṣāmrtvijān ....vijñānāni ..." and according to SKANDA, vijñānāni svakarma-viśeṣanāni. GELDNER translates "die (Wort der) Weisheit anregend." But GRIFFITH translates "Immortal, Sacrificer, God, with wondrous power he leads the way, / Urging the great assembly on." The plural form of vidathāni could be translated O "urging all assemblies of sacred rites on." The meanings given by all others however seem to be satisfactory.

(5) émdra yāhyūpa nah parāvato

nāyamācchā vidathānīva

Sátpatirāstam rájeva Sápatis

According to V. MĀDHAVA vidathānīva is grhānīva. SĀYANA explains vidathāni as vedanāny amustheya-jñānāni but the connection of this word is not very clear. GRIFFITH translates it into gatherings," while GELDNER into "zum Rate der Weisen." The connection of accha presumes the word vidatha to signify more suitably a place or a gathering but the abstract sense is not improbable.

(6) kavir ná ninyām vidāthāni sādhan

vr̥ṣā yāt sekam vi-pipānó arcāt / (IV, 16, 3, ab)

SĀYANA /...sons to the Synod," and GELDNER - "Als Meister wollen wir (das Wort der) Weisheit reden." GELDNER makes a difference between the/...



SĀYANA explains vidathāni as vedanīyāni kāryajātāmi object of sādhane; the subject is "Indra." SĀYANA says Indra reveres the Soma juice while drinking it as the Kavi reveres the vidathas while performing them like finding a hidden meaning. SĀYANA's explanation is thus quite satisfactory. But GRIFFITH's translation which is: "When the Bull, quaffing, praises our libation, as a sage paying holy rites in secret " is not very suitable.

(7) ā hotā mamdró vidāthānyasthāt

satyó yajvā kavítamah sá vedhāh (III, 14, 1, ab)

The connection of ā asthāt with vidathāni suggests that it denotes a place where the function of Hotr is needed. GRIFFITH translates vidathānyasthāt into "is come into the Synod," GELDNER translates "Der wohkredende Hotr hat die weisen Reden besteigen." SHARMA (APII, 67) assumes OLDENBERG's meaning and considers that Agni came to Vidatha as an ordainer.

(vii) Vidatham occurs five times in RV:

(1) suvīrāso vidathamā vadema

which occurs three times in RV. at the end of <sup>two</sup> hymns (I, 117, 25; II, 12, 15) and in the penultimate verse of VIII, 48 (i.e. in the 14th verse.) This refrain evidently makes some departure from the more popular closing prayer brhad vadema vidathe suvīrāh which occurs 22 times in the 2nd Mandala. But there seems to be very little difference in the substance of the two expressions.

SĀYANA explains "...vidatham yajñam ābhimuklyena stutrin uccārayāma. He gives an alternate meaning which is etymological viz. vedayantam atithim. GRIFFITH generally translates " .. may we speak with brave sons to the Synod," and GELDNER - "Als Meister wollen wir (das wort der) Weisheit reden." GELDNER makes a difference between the/..

carelessly draws an inference "It appears that the female member was the two expressions - vidathe being connected with suvīrah in the sense of "Meister" but here suvīrasah is the subject of the verb ā vadema. But the sense "Meister" is not very apt for suvīra

although vidatha in both the occurrences is translated by "Weisheit."

BLOOMFIELD makes no difference (JAOS XIX). OLDENBERG (SBE XLVI, 26)

translates "may we with valiant men mightily raise our voice at the determining of ordinance."

- (2) The other two instances of vidatham occur one after another in the marriage hymn of Sūryā, X, 85, 26 and 27.

grhān gaccha grhāpatnī yathāsō

vasīnī tvām vidatham ā vadāsi (X, 85, 26, cd)

enā pātyā tanvām sām srjasvādā

jivri vidathamā vadāthah (X, 85, 27, cd)

SĀYANA explains vidatham as patigrham, signifying grhasthitam

bhṛtyādijanam. The two verses are applied in the marriage ceremony,

the former verse is to be said while getting up on the chariot etc.,

and the latter is to be said while entering the husband's house.

BLOOMFIELD's and GRIFFITH's translations are more or less in the same

line. But GELDNER translates "... Du mögst als Gebieterin weise

Rede führen." "... und noch im Greisenalter sollt ihr beide weise

Rede führen ..." (In ZDMG (LII) he translates, "Als Herein sollst

du der Hansgenossenschaft die Weisung geben" .."Im hohen Alter sollt

ihr beide der Hausgenossenschaft die Weisung geben.") Thus vidatha

is generally interpreted in these instances not as a social assembly

but as either the household or wise words/decision. (ROTH ('SW'))

also suggests the meaning Weisung, Gebot; etc.) SHARMA (APII)

carelessly/...

carelessly draws an inference "It appears that the female member was (but does not explain the nature of the Synods.) GELDNER translates: not a mute participant in the affairs of the assembly. Thus Sūryā "in weiser Rede bewanderten," but the point is whether it is is instructed to speak to the assembled people in the vidatha." But necessary here to call Agni versed in wise speech." It does not here he has assumed.

(3) ūpo ha yād vidātham vājino gūr

dhībhir viprāḥ pramatiṃ icchamānāḥ (VII, 93, 3, ab)

vidatham in connection with ūpo guh i.e. upagacchanti is yajnam according to SĀYANA, "assembly" according to GRIFFITH, and "Opfer-schreiten" according to GELDNER (who thinks that there a kind of contest of sacrifice was held and which assumption is quite suitable here.) All these interpretations though varying are satisfactory.

(viii) vidathāya occurs only once in RV.

yādīm usāntamusatāmanu krātum

agnīm hotāram vidathāya jñanan (X, 11, 3, cd)

As here the producing of Agni is referred, vidatha seems to be an assembly (as understood by GRIFFITH) where sacrifice ("Yajña" - SĀYANA, "Opfer" - GELDNER) was a notable function. ROTH illustrates this as having a religious connection.

(ix) The derivative vidathā ("tatrabhava ityarthe ... SĀYANA III, 54, 1) occurs nine times in RV.

(1) imām mahé vidathyāya śusām

śasvatkṛtvā idyāya prā jabhruḥ (III, 54, 1, ab)

vidathyāya with the other words in the Dative case refers to Agni in the sense of "to be lit in the vidatha." SĀYANA explains it as yajñe manthanena nispādyamānāya, GRIFFITH translates it by "meet for Synods" (but/...

(but does not explain the nature of the Synods.) GELDNER translates: "in weiser Rede bewanderten," but the point is whether it is necessary here to call Agni versed in wise speech." It does not follow the context.

(2) prā vo mahīmaramatiṁ kṛṇudhvam

prā pūṣānam vidathyam nā vīram (VII, 36, 8, ab)

SĀYANA explains vidathyam as yajñārham, and vīram as sarveśam prerakam adjective to pūṣānam. GRIFFITH translates: "Bring ye the great Aramati before you, and Pushan as the hero of the Synod" - this meaning is satisfactory. GELDNER translates vidathyam nā vīram by "wie einen in weissen Rate bewanderten Meister." According to GRASSMANN "excelling in gathering." MAX MÜLLER (SBE XXII) explained the

(3) Sādanyam vidathyam sabhēyam  
pitṛśravānam yó dādāśad āsmai (I, 91, 20, cd)

Here also vidathyam occurs with vīram, and SĀYANA explains it as yajñārham, GRIFFITH translates by "meet for Synods," GELDNER by "in Rot der weissen ... tüchtig ist" (F.N. möglich auch: in weissen Reden tüchtig.) SĀYANA's yajñārham, as in this instance it refers to a human being rather a son to be born, seems to imply yajñakāryakūśalam as sādanyam according to him is grhārham and then grhakārya kūśalam. In this instance, inline (b) sómo vīram karmanyam dadāti is mentioned then the three adjectives in C., sādanyam, vidathyam and sabhēyam may denote karmanya or dexterous in the activity of house, of vidatha and of sabhā, wherein vidatha and sabhā may signify some places greater than one's house where people outside one's family assemble and perform religious and other duties.

Here/...



Here also vidathya has the sense of "excellent in vidatha" or "expert in vidatha - work."

(4) mimyakṣa yeṣu sūdhitā ghrtāci

hiranyanirṇigūparā na rṣtiḥ /

guhā carantī manuṣo na yoṣā

sabhāvatī vidathyeva sam vāk // (I, 167, 3)

Here is another instance of the occurrence of vidathya beside that of sabhā and here it is in the feminine gender referring to vāk as compared with a yoṣā.

According to SĀYANA vidatho yajñah tadarhatiti vidathyā praisastotrādi rūpā vāk / Sā yathā yajñasabhāṃ prāpyāvīrbhavati tadvat." V. MĀDHAVA explains it as yajñabhavā. MAX MÜLLER (SBE XXXII) explained the conception of lightning and thunder as the two wives of the Maruts, the former remaining in seclusion, and the latter being in public and loud. But the conception of lightning alone could be taken compared with one wife, because yoṣā is singular here and the lightning remaining in seclusion sometimes comes out in public (sabhāvatī) and loud like the vidathyā vāk. Following MAX MÜLLER, GRIFFITH translates vidathyā into "eloquent." GELDNER renders vidathyeva sam vāk into "wie die gelehrte Rede." BLOOMFIELD renders - "a genteel woman of good house and with an establishment."

(5) yāsyā krātur vidathyó na samrāt

sahvā tārutyo abhyāsti kṛstīḥ (IV, 21, 2, cd)

vidathyah samrāt, according to SĀYANA, is compared to Indra's action (Kratur) which overpowers the Kṛstī-s (the people) of the enemy. So vidathya is yajñārhaḥ sakalalokānām adhipatir iva. GELDNER translates "wie/...."

festgesetzt, festlich" i.e. sacrificial or festive.

"wie ein weiser König," but the power of vidathya samrāt seems to be overpowering the people of the enemies which is not expressed by "weider." GRIFFITH translates "Whose will is like a Sovran in assembly, who rules the people, Conqueror, all-surpassing. Following this translation where samrāt is given its later meaning, SHARMA draws the inference that the King would be present in the assembly called Vidatha.

(6) yuge yuge vidathyam gr̥nadbhyo

'gne rayim yasasam dhehi nāvyasīm (VI, 8, 5, ab)

SĀYANA explains vidathyam as yajñārham and connects it with tvām uddisya (understood) gr̥nadbhyaḥ. GRIFFITH as well as BLOOMFIELD and GRASSMANN connects vidathyam with rayim. We find however all except nāvyasīm as masculine. GELDNER understands vidathyam and yasasam as adjectives to vīram (son) understood while nāvyasīm adjective to rayim. SĀYANA's interpretation however can be accepted thus: "In every age to those praising you fit for (or lit in) the vidathas, O Agni grant glory and every new wealth."

(7) o śrūstīr vidathyā sametu

prāti stōmam dadhīmahi turāṇām (VII, 40, 1, ab)

vidathyā is explained by SĀYANA as vidathena tvadīyena cittena sampādyā, or he gives an alternate explanation, yajñe kriyamānā qualifying asmadīyā stutir. GRIFFITH translates: "Be gathered all the audience of the synod; let us begin their praise whose course is rapid." It is not understood what GRIFFITH really understands by śrūstī, but vidathyā he translates by "the audience of the Synod." GELDNER's translation is: "Die für weise Reden empfängliche Erhörung Soll sich enfinden." GRASSMANN gives the meaning "für das Opferfestgeeignet, festlich" i.e. sacrificial or festive.

(8) ā visvācī vidathyāmanaktamagne ... which suggests the  
 locative māno devatātā mrdhaskah (VII, 43, 3, cd) Similarly in

By vidathyām here SĀYANA means yajñayogyām being the adjective of the  
 flames of Agni, the fire-god who is invoked. GRIFFITH translates the  
 first portion of the line: "Let general fire make bright the flame of  
 worship." GRIFFITH here follows SĀYANA's meaning of vidathyām.

GELDNER: "Der für alle bestimmte (Opferlöffel) Soll die für das Opfer  
 bestimmte (Flamme) betraufeln." Here vidathyā thus suggests the  
 sense of "sacrificial" as also suggested by GRASSMANN.

(9) pariṣmanam vidathyam suvrktibhir ... five are in connection with  
vayam vyustā usaso havāmahe (X, 41, 1, cd) as to be echo-

SĀYANA explains vidathyam as yajñahitam ratham here. GRIFFITH also  
 follows SĀYANA here and translates: "That circumambient car, worthy  
 of sacrifice, we call with our pure hymns at earliest flush of dawn."  
 So GRIFFITH also thinks the word vidatha from which the word is derived  
 may here have the sense of "sacrifice" as considered by the Indian  
 scholars. GELDNER however translates vidathyam into "weiser Rede  
 würdigen." GRASSMANN also gives the meaning "sacrificial" or "festive."  
 which's action is directed (yag ... vidatham yag)

(x) BLOOMFIELD rightly points out: "Decidedly it should be noted that  
 the word vidatha does not occur in the nominative at all, but over-  
 whelmingly in the locative singular and plural whereas yajñā is very  
 common in the nominative ...." and therefrom he draws the conclusion:  
 ".... rendering it clear that the sacrifice took place in the vidatha."

We have seen that the Locative forms of the word occur in 50 + 33 =  
 83 instances. Besides, vidāthā which is generally explained as the  
 accusative plural form is once connected with ā + Kṣi (ā Kṣeti vidāthā)  
 and/...

and once again with amtar (amtar devo vidāthā ...) which suggests the locative sense although formally it may be accusative. Similarly in ā ... vidāthānyasthāt the connection with ā + sthā has a locative denotation although vidāthāni is accusative. The word vidāthe the accusative dual form occurring only once is also connected with amtar having thus a locative significance. It can be pointed out here in this connection how ā + vas changes the connected locative to an accusative. There might be a tendency of considering the accusative form with an ā preverb to denote locative, because out of the six instances of the occurrences of vidatham, five are in connection with ā vad and the expression suṁvīrāso vidāthamā vadema seems to be echoing the more popular expression brhadvadema vidāthe suṁvīrah, vidāthamā being thus probably equivalent to vidāthe, the change might be required for the sake of metre. With vidāthā also there is one use of the verb vac (to speak) (vocam vidāthā).

Therefore, only in a very few cases we have non-locative use of the word vidatha. The remaining instance of vidātham is connected with verb gam with a pre-verb upo- which suggests also a location to which a motion is directed (upo ... vidātham gur)

With vidāthāni also we have seen the use of a verb of motion "emdro yāhyupa vidāthāni."

(1. The instances of the use of the word in accusative senses are:

- vidāthābhi svāramti (I, 164, 21)
- śasāsaur vidāthā (III, 1, 2)
- vidāthā nicikyat (IV, 38, 4)
- veda vidāthāni (VI, 51, 2)
- yemur vidāthāni (VII, 66, 10)

1. Although GELDERER mostly translates vidāthas into wisdom, wise speech, etc. we have seen that he has somehow tried to avoid the controversies in favour of the house on the one hand and in favour of the assembly on the other by giving etymological senses, which are in many places unsatisfactory.



of whom vidāthāni sādhan (III, 1, 18)

sacrifices vidāthāni pracodayan (III, 27, 7)

Except in one instance vidāthāni sādhan, in all the above, SĀYANA refrains himself from explaining the word with his usual meaning yajña and gives the etymological sense veditavyāni = jñātavyāni (III, 3, 3), (Karmāni or sthānāni like the earth etc.) which is a significant point to note. In all other instances however there is an intrinsic locational sense in the word vidatha. There is besides one use of vidatha in the dative case and seven uses of the word in the genitive.<sup>1</sup>

We can now put together all our information regarding vidatha from its different occurrences.

Vidathas are three in number (VI, 51, 2) - they are of the gods, that is, they are directed by the gods with their thoughts or wisdom (VII, 66, 10). Between the two vidathas, Agni moves like a messenger (VIII, 39, 1). Agni is lauded in the third vidatha (II, 4, 8)\*

Thrice the gods come to the vidatha (III, 56, 5, 8 and 54, 11). There are three seats (better settings) in Vidatha (III, 38, 6.) In it there are three vratas (II, 27, 8)\*\* The gods are often invoked with awakening songs (III, 39, 1, 2)

In Vidathas were born some gods of human form who appear in the sacrifices (III, 4, 5.) Some gods are the frequenters in Vidathas (I, 89, 7) of/...

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\* This Vidatha is very likely to be figuratively the three regions viz. Earth, Heaven and Firmament. Agni moves between the two i.e. the Earth and the Firmament or Heaven. The third vidatha is the Earth where Agni is lauded. dvimātā vidathesu samrāt (III, 55, 7) is thus Agni while trimātā vidathesu samrāt (III, 56, 5) is Sūrya.

\*\* The three savanas at three times in a day may have been referred to here.

<sup>1</sup> Although GELDNER mostly translates vidatha into wisdom, wise speech, etc. we have seen that he has somehow tried to avoid the controversies in favour of the house on the one hand and in favour of the assembly on the other by giving etymological senses, which are in many places unsatisfactory.

of whom Agni is the most important. He is practically the hotr of sacrifices (IV, 6, 2) and is present in Vidathas urging men to Vidathas (III, 14, 1)(III, 27, 7) and as the director of sacrifices is praised in the Vidatha (VIII, 11, 2.) In Vidatha practically Agni is the sacrifice (X, 100, 6) He is the banner of sacrifices (III, 3, 3); he is the banner of vidatha (I, 60, 1) and the performer of Vidatha (X, 92, 2; X, 91, 8.) He is rather born for the sake of vidatha (X, 11, 3.) Agni, the performer of Vidatha may be the same who is called Kavi, the seer (III, 1, 18) No wonder the enkindled fire is an essential requirement for vidatha (I, 143, 7) Agni is received with full honour as a hotr by the vedhasas of the vidathas (X, 91, 9.) They also invite Agni by singing (X, 122, 8.)

Besides Agni, Maruts are also named in connection with Vidathas\*. They are well lauded there (I, 166, 7), they delight in vidathas (I, 85, 1) and dally in them (I, 166, 2.) They place the young damsel in vidathas (I, 167, 6.) They strove hard in the great vidatha (V, 59, 2.)

Sometimes Mitra and Varuna together are praised in the Vidatha (III, 38, 6.) As rājans they lead in the vidatha (V, 63, 2.) The priest pleases both in the Vidatha (I, 153, 3.)

Indra also is sometimes praised (III, 39, 1, 2) (VI, 24, 2) (In I, 56, 2) Indra is referred to as the might of the Vidatha (I, 56, 2)

There are the mentions of Vedhasas and Hotrs engaged in vidathas (X, 91, 9; X, 122, 8; I, 153, 2) and also the mention of dhīras who might/...

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\* Except in the last reference, Maruts are mentioned in the 1st Mandala only. The last reference has vidatha in the singular which may mean the firmament. In the same meaning the word might have been used in the plural also in the 1st Mandala in the general sense. The singular vidatha might be in the "firmament" while the plural may be the three regions.

might be referring to the gods or the priests in Vidathas (III, 26, 6 ; III, 28, 4.) Their dhī-s as "praises" may have been referred to as the dhīs (thoughts) of a vidatha (III, 38, 5.) References are made to ābhuvas who dress the words of praise and scatters sanctifying water (I, 64, 1, 6.) Sacrifices are made in vidathas (VII, 84, 3) where the sacrificial post is annointed (I, 92, 5.) Gods delight in the havis offered (VI, 52, 17) they are invoked to accept the ilas (I, 186, 1) (S, 12, 7) and they are prayed for taking their seats on varhi (VII, 37, 2) in vidathas. The soma yāgas were held there (IX, 32, 1) The priest drinks the Soma-juice for gaining strength to bear the burden of sacrifice in vidatha (III, 1, 1.) In vidathas others also drink Soma-juice and they become garrulous (VII, 21, 2.)

Invokation to gods is the general function in a Vidatha. The gods take delight in the hymns of praise (III, 54, 2) (VII, 99, 6.) Hymns of praise were often attended with sacrifice (I, 159, 1.) It was with the offering of the food for the gods in vidathas (VII, 73, 2.) It was customary to speak out salutary hymns (I, 40, 6) praising the gods exploits (V, 29, 12) and being glorified (II, 39, 1; X, 96, 1) in Vidathas, grant the invokers food (VI, 24, 2) and good sons so that along with the good sons the invokers may speak aloud bigger hymns of praise later in the vidathas (II, 1, 16; 2, 13; 11, 21; 13, 13; etc. I, 117, 25; II, 12, 15; VIII, 48, 14.)

The invokers seek the favour of the gods by chanting in vidathas (VII, 93, 3.) They believe that the good result of pious deeds is distributed in vidatha (evidently among all participants.) (II, 1, 4) A hymn of praise for a chariot newly built up was often spoken of in the vidathas with the pious belief that the gods will protect it from all/...

all evils (IV, 36, 5.) The eulogy for horses was not customary in Vidathas which were the fitting place for the eulogy of the gods or things connected with gods; that is why the invoker is hesitant to speak it out in a vidatha (I, 162, 1.) In the vidathas is also praised a rich man who bestows riches, who goes at first in a chariot (II, 27, 12.) Of course, if it does not mean a god, as it does in VIII, 11, 2 where it is Agni who is praised in Vidatha. In VIII, 18, 13 we find a reference to a tribe who is mr̥dhravāc (speaking hostile and injurious words either in the vidatha or outside) whom an other tribe likes to win over either outside or in the Vidatha. It may be a contest referred to in V, 3, 6 and in III, 8, 5 where people are won over by money. But we are not very sure about the meaning and to rely on these doubtful passages to draw some theory on the social condition of Vedic India seems to be precarious. The difficult verses X, 85, 26 and 27 where the bride is advised to speak (or speak in a) vidatha after being vasinī and both the husband and wife to continue to do the same up to their old ages (jivṛ) can not also be depended upon.

In fact these few references do suggest that the vidatha was not confined to invoking the gods, though this appears to be its main business but had other functions also though these may still be regarded as religious, as set in a religious framework: these are deliberations ~~and poetic contest~~ and poetic contest between Kavis perhaps with the idea of invoking the gods more successfully than a rival. The whole universe and every action probably had religious significance in this period, hence the sacrifice (in its assembly) could well be ~~and including~~ all including.

Vidathya /.....



Vidathya the word derived from vidatha refers to Agni (III, 54, 1.) It also refers to Pūsan (VII, 36, 8.) It is also an adjective of samrāt referring to the Indra's valorous deed which overpowers the people of the enemy side (IV, 21, 2.) vidathyā refers to the flames of the fire in vidatha (VII, 43, 3.) It is also the adjective of vāk (I, 167, 3) also of Śruti (VII, 40, 1) which is rather obscure. But vidathya is the adjective of vīra 'the son' who may be an expert in vidatha's functions (I, 91, 20) and on another occasion it refers to the car (X, 41, 1) that is built and which may be sung about in the Vidatha. Hence vidathya is derivationally vidathe yogya wherefrom we can hold that vidatha is a place where sacrificial fire was burnt in favour of gods who were invoked to be present there ~~where cars were also praised along with hymns for gods where cars~~ were also praised along with hymns for gods and a son adept in the function of vidatha was very much desired.

It can however be concluded that vidatha in RV. was conventionally the name of a congregational religious function in which sacrifice was essential along with the invocations of gods. As it was a sort of religious gathering, people indulged in a sort of contest also, and many things other than religious matters might have been held. A change of meaning from "the function" to "the place of function" was not improbable. This solves the controversy between SĀYANA and GRIFFITH on their respective general meanings sacrifice and assembly. An etymological sense also came into being which was "wisdom", "a wise action", "wise word" and "a knowable place" etc. wherein we find some of the interpretations of SĀYANA and GELDNER's interpretation in general. In addition to these conventional and etymological /.....

etymological meanings there were certain figurative employments of the word. For instance the cosmic region is conceived as a vidatha where religious or disciplined practices are noticed.

#### B. Vidatha in AV.

Vidatha in AV. is much less numerous than in RV., occurring only in a score of instances. The Locative form which is so numerous in RV. is found only in six instances, the plural form only once and the singular, five times. The Accusative singular form occurs seven times, and twice occurs the definitely Accusative plural form vidathāni. Another form vidathā, also Accusative plural according to the European scholars, which however, in one or two instances, appears to be used as the Instrumental singular, occurs thrice and once occurs each of the Dative singular and the Genitive singular forms.

These instances in AV. can be grouped in three (i) one group comprising instances of repeated RV. instances with or without changes of certain words, (ii) another containing the adapted RV. instances, (iii) the third group comprising new uses of the word.

#### (i) Repeated RV. instances.

##### (a) containing vidathe

(1) XVIII, 1, 35 (Śau) yásmin devá vidathe mādayante etc. is RV. X, 12, 7 repeated exactly.

(2) XX, 30, 1 (Śau) prá te mahé vidathe samsisam harī etc. is RV. X, 96, 1 exactly repeated.

##### (b) containing vidathesu/...

(b) containing vidathesu

V, 12, 7 (Śau) daivyāhotārā ... pracodāzantā vidathesu Kārū etc.  
is RV. X, 110, 7 exactly repeated.

(c) containing vidatham

(1) XIV, 1, 20 (Śau) and XVIII, 2, 9 (Pai) is the same  
verse as X, 85, 26, only RV. starts with pūsā while AV. starts  
with bhagas, but the main portion is in cd. of the verse which  
is exactly the same:

grhān gaccha grhapatnī yathāso  
vasīnī tvām vidathamā vadāsi

(2) XIV, 1, 21 (Śau) corresponding to XVIII, 2, 10 (Pai)  
repeats RV. X, 85, 27 but for prajāyā in a. of RV. instance, in  
AV., a. has prajāyai and for srjasvādā jīvrī vidatham ā  
vadāthah at the end of the verse, AV. has sorśasvātha jīrvir  
(Śau)/cirvir (Pai) vidatham ā vadāsi while in RV. the newly  
married couple are both addressed, in AV., the bride only is  
addressed.

(3) XX, 34, 18 (Śau), cd has the same reading as II, 12, 15,  
cd of RV:

vayam ta indra viśvāha priyāsah  
suvīrāso vidatham ā vadema //

(d) containing vidathāni

(1) XX, 77, 3 (Śau) Kavir nānīnyām vidathāni sādhan etc.  
is exactly the same as the RV. verse IV, 16, 3.

(e) containing vidathā

(1) IX, 14, 22 (Śau) has almost the same verse as RV. I, 164, 21  
only/...

only for bhāgam in RV., (ab): vidatham ā vadasi, where of course

RV. yatrā suparnā amṛtasya bhāgam also done in AV. (Śau)

XIV, 1, 2 ānimesam vidāthābhisvāramti / almost intact. In the

AV. has bhaksam, and also for ino at the beginning of the next

line AV. has enā.

(f) containing vidathāya

(1) XVIII, 1, 20 (Śau) is RV. X, 11, 3 exactly repeated while has in (cd)

yādīm vāsāntam usātām ānu krātum

agnīm hōtāram vidathāya jījanan //

(ii) RV. verses are adapted in certain AV. verses.

(a) containing vidathe

(1) In XVIII, 3, 24 (Śau), the first line:

ākarma te svāpaso abhūma

rtāmasrannusāso vibhātīh //

has been taken from RV. IV, 2, 19, ab which belongs to a hymn to Agni,

and the second line:

vīsvam tād bhadram yād āvanti devā

brhād vadema vidathe suvīrāh //

has been taken from one of the hymn-closing refrains with

prayers to the gods in Mandala II viz. II, 23, 19 and 24, 16.

(b) containing vidatham

(1) VIII, 1, 6 (Śau) corresponding to XVI, 1, 6 (Pai)

has only the last quarter of the verse from the last portion of

RV./...



RV. X, 85, 27 viz. átha jírvir vidátham á vadāsi, where of course RV. jivri is changed to jirvir as is also done in AV. (Śau) XIV, 1, 21 where the whole RV. verse is almost intact. In the present verse which runs thus:

udyānam te puruṣa nāvayānam  
jīvātum te dāksatātīm kṛnōmi /  
á hí róhemām amṛtam sukham  
rāthamātha jírvir vidátham á vadāsi //

the young Brahman is blessed that he may have uprise and no downfall, endowed with life and vigour he may ascend the immortal easy-running chariot and lastly it is said "then full of years shalt thou address the meeting" (GRIFFITH), "then in old age thou shalt hold converse with thy family" (BLOOMFIELD), "then shalt thou in advanced age (?jirvi) speak to the council" (WHITNEY.) SĀYANA explains this line differently from what he explains in RV. (gr̥ham ābhimukhyena vadatam) SĀYANA explains this verse as allegorical. It is wished that the man be over the fetters of death - that a life-tonic (jīvanāusadham) and strength will be made for him, that he may ascend the deathless chariot agreeable to the senses, i.e. his soul may remain in the body and reading ajirvih for jirvih SĀYANA explains the extract as ajīrṇaḥ san vedanam ā vada / labdhasamjño'smṛti ācaksvetyarthah/.

(2) In XII, 2, 22 (Śau) and XVII, 32, 2 (Pai)

imé jīvā ví mṛtair āvavṛtann ābūd bhadrā devahūtir  
no adyā /

prāñco agāma nṛtaye hasāya suvīrāso vidathamā vadema /

the last quarter of RV. verses I, 117, 25; II, 12, 15 and VIII, 48, 14 is/...